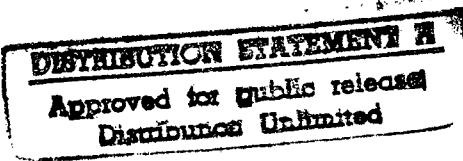


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# ***JPRS Report***



# **China**

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# China

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23 September 1992

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**Article Views Marxist Education in Universities**

*HK1707070092 Beijing QIUSHI in Chinese  
No 9, 1 May 92 pp 7-12*

[Article by Song Defu (1345 1795 4395): "Illumine Young Students' Road of Advancement With Marxism—Thoughts on the Study of Marxism-Leninism by University Students"]

**[Text] Development of University Students' Marxism-Leninism Studies**

Since the second half of 1989, tertiary institutions in all areas have universally developed activities through which their students study Marxism-Leninism, the works of Mao Zedong, and the selected works of Deng Xiaoping and other revolutionaries of the older generation (abbreviated hereafter to "activities of studying Marxism-Leninism") and the following situations have emerged in large numbers: Outstanding students who study diligently, apply their studies, and who, through combining theory and practice, have gradually established a faith in Marxism; study groups that are voluntarily organized based on bonds of faith and mutual seeking, and that are unremitting in their efforts, realize great achievements in their study; guiding teachers who are filled with ardor and sincerity, teach with skill, and who show students the way; and schools that proceed from the high strategic plane of fostering successors, provide warm support, and that painstakingly organize the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism.

This study promotes the growth and progress of students. Many students are, through this study, able to clearly distinguish right from wrong on profound issues such as the socialist road, leadership by the party, view on life, and so on, and can strengthen their faith and improve their ideological and political qualities. Many students who have participated in the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism have sent in party membership applications to the party organs. Some have already joined the CPC and have taken the realization of a communist social system as their lifelong cause. Some students who have participated in the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism have gained a deeper understanding that "science has no international borders but scientists do have a motherland" and believe that "as socialist students, we should serve the socialist cause of science." After graduation, they tried to go down to the lower levels, to border areas, and to places where they were most needed by the motherland. Many students have increased their spiritual vigor and their enthusiasm for study has continually expanded. Some students have said: "When I first entered the university, I felt that the pressure of study was not as great as in high school and I was slack, undisciplined, and listless all day. After participating in the Marxist-Leninist study groups, I have faith and a goal in my heart and I have also put efforts into my studies." Many students are positive elements in the study of Marxism-Leninism and are also top of the class in their own field of study. Many students use Marxism

to guide their own activities, take the lead in studying Lei Feng, and do good things. They are models in respecting school rules and discipline, actively participate in flood and disaster relief, and display the spiritual features of contemporary young students who strive to make progress. Students' ideas are now more based on fact and are quite in accord with reality. Their understanding of the party's basic line has increased; they safeguard the line, principles, and policies implemented since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; they support reform and opening up; and they recognize the great importance of safeguarding stability and unity. Over the last two years and more, the intense scene of studying Marxism-Leninism which has appeared on campuses has not only given university campuses a fresh atmosphere of positive progress but also promoted ideological and political work in tertiary institutions. It has developed from a situation of "invigorating the blood flow" and putting things in order to "consolidation and cultivation" and firming the base.

**Reasons for Upsurge, Development of Studying Marxism-Leninism**

The issue of developing activities in which university students study Marxism-Leninism is, seen overall, the inevitable result of our party's adherence to Marxism, schools clarifying their orientation, and the strengthening of ideological and political work. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party has led the people of all nationalities in bringing order out of chaos and has switched the work focus to economic construction. A new scene has thus appeared throughout the country and there has been great development in all areas of work. However, there have also been mistakes in this work. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "Over the last 10 years, the greatest mistakes have been in education" with the emergence of the situation where material advance was stressed at the expense of cultural and ideological advance. Many students had become estranged from Marxism and some had even begun to have doubts about it. Further, the ideological tides of Western culture had taken advantage of the lacuna to flow in, and tertiary institutions have successively seen "the Sartre craze," the "Freud craze," "the Nietzsche craze," and so on. This has had a negative effect on the young students. After the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee, with Comrade Jiang Zemin as its core, adopted a series of measures and, at the same time as developing the economy, put efforts into strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization and into strengthening ideological and political work. Thus, a turn for the better began to appear. Without this major background there would not have been the upsurge in activities through which university students study Marxism-Leninism and there would not have been the sustained development of these activities.

First, through guiding the broad number of students, together with reflections on the political disturbances in the spring and summer of 1989, their understanding was

raised, lessons were summed up, and the orientation made clear. Many students, after serious pondering, gradually came to recognize: "The guidance provided us by some of the theories we were once fond of was mistaken. Thus, we needed to seek new theoretical explanations and we took up Marxist-Leninist works and the works of Mao Zedong, which had long been ignored." Through comparison and differentiation, some students said: "Some of the rational elements of Western philosophy can also be found in Marxism-Leninism or can be discovered through scientific analysis conducted under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. However, the lofty plane that Marxism-Leninism provides to people cannot be found in Western philosophy."

Second, the earnest participation of university students in social practice activities has resulted in students getting in touch with reality, understanding the workers and peasants, and deepening their understanding of the national situation. From the great changes that have occurred since the beginning of reform and opening up, and the heartfelt aspirations of the masses, the students can see the correctness of the party's line, principles, and policies, understand the great significance of grasping economic construction without respite, deepening reform and expanding opening up, and concretely feel how Marxism is combined with the specific practice of the Chinese revolution and how its role is brought into play.

We can come to the following conclusion: Contemporary young students are rich in enterprising spirit, have a sense of responsibility about invigorating China, and aspire to actively make progress and a desire to seek the truth. If we firmly raise the banner of Marxism, tightly combine this with the ideological realities of young students and carry out propaganda and education among them in a targeted way, the young students are willing to study, accept, and trust in Marxism. Marxism, as scientific truth, still has a strong appeal to contemporary youth.

The objective factors that encourage young students to study Marxism are based on the innate links between young people and Marxism. We can try to sum up this relationship in two phrases: The growth and maturity of young students needs Marxism, while the upholding and development of Marxism requires young students. The former stresses the necessity of young students to study Marxism, while the latter stresses the pressing need to carry out Marxist education among young students.

#### **1. The growth and maturity of young students needs Marxism.**

Youth is certainly the right time to study, to gain knowledge, and to develop one's wisdom and Marxism is the summation and condensation of many aspects of knowledge from the past and present. Its methodology is the direct or indirect skeleton key for mastering all knowledge. If one masters Marxism, one can deepen one's understanding of the entirety of knowledge created

by mankind, deepen one's understanding of many patterns of the natural world and human society, and accelerate the study of cultural, scientific, and technical knowledge. This allows one to better achieve mastery of the knowledge one has, so that this can become a base for creating new knowledge and exploring new patterns.

Youth is an important stage in the course of one's life but the road after youth is also very long. If one wants one's progress to be along a correct road, one must have an overall and correct view of the world and the society in which one lives and must understand the inevitable patterns of social development. If one does not understand the inevitable patterns of social development, one can take a tumble along the road of life and might even injure oneself badly and lose some blood. Of the huge number of theories and ideas on natural and social development which have been put forward in China and abroad in the past and present, only Marxism truly and scientifically points out the patterns of development of human society. Only if one studies and masters Marxism will one be able to consciously promote the progress of history and truly contribute one's youth and abilities to the cause of progress and mankind's historical development.

The cause in which we are engaged is the great cause of building socialism under the leadership of the party. Regardless of whether we speak of the past, the present, or the future, Marxism is our guiding ideology and guide for action. Those who are young in the 1990's will, in the next century, in turn become the backbone elements on all fronts and in all industries and businesses in our country. If young students want to accomplish things then, only if they study hard and master Marxism, establish on a scientific base a firm faith in the party and in socialism, and increase their capacity to withstand bourgeois liberalization, will they be able, in the face of storms, to maintain a firm stand, clearly distinguish right from wrong, learn skills, develop healthily, become builders of and successors to the socialist cause and shoulder the mission which spans the centuries. If one does not study Marxism and cannot use a Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method to resolve the real problems faced by China, one will have no way to take over from the older generation and will be unable to push forward the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Integrating with practice and integrating with the workers and peasants is the only possible road for the healthy development of our country's intellectuals. Progressive intellectuals of the older generation have been through arduous tempering along this road and realized outstanding achievements. If young students, as the reserve force for the intellectuals, are to carry out their own historical responsibilities, they must continue to advance along this road. Establishing a correct view of life is the ideological basis for consciously travelling this road by which to grow into useful persons. Only through studying Marxism and obtaining a clear idea of the historical materialist view of the nature of man, clearly

understanding that the masses are the creators of history, clearly understanding the theory that the masses of workers and peasants are the main element in social practice, and so on, can one more consciously and more dynamically get close to the people, serve the masses with all one's heart, and travel the correct road by which to grow into useful persons. The great historical task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics facing young people involves many problems in many fields, including economics, politics and culture. Resolving these problems requires studying by people who have experience in practice, stressing the accumulation of experience in practice, and overcoming the various weaknesses brought by one's young age and lack of experience. It also requires putting great efforts into studying and mastering Marxism, mastering a scientific ideological method, and improving one's ability to analyze questions. Only in this way will it be possible, facing a complex situation, to learn how to correctly handle the relationships between the subjective and objective, theory and practice, motive and effects, history and the present, process and result, and the partial and the overall situations, accurately assess the overall situation and master the orientation of advance.

## 2. Marxism needs young people to inherit, uphold, and develop it.

Marxism, as a worldwide revolutionary ideological tide and revolutionary movement, requires that revolutionaries in all areas throughout the world participate in propagation and practice. Only thus will it see continued consolidation and development. At present, seen from an overall world scope, the development of Marxism is at a temporary low ebb. How are we to ensure that Marxism allows more persons to have a correct understanding and mastery and clear up and rectify the various distortions and erroneous understandings of Marxism, so that it can again display its brilliance and strength? This is a serious and solemn task facing revolutionaries throughout the world. CPC members hold high the banner of Marxism and are engaged in socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics. If we are to ensure that the undertaking initiated by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries is continued smoothly; push forward economic construction as swiftly as possible; and are to effectively guard against peaceful evolution and finally realize the lofty ideal of communism, the crux lies in raising the ideological and moral qualities, as well as the scientific and cultural qualities, of the broad number of young people and fostering a large number of reliable successors who are truly loyal to Marxism. In this sense, young students are not only where the future and hopes of the state lie but also where the future and hopes of Marxism lie.

Marxism is the most scientific theory about the present and also about the future and it inevitably attracts the attention of all people with lofty ideals who are concerned about the future of mankind and concerned about social progress. In China, those who first took the lead in grasping the sharp weapon of Marxism were young

intellectuals represented by Li Dazhao and Mao Zedong. Without them, Marxism would not have been spread in China at that time and it would not have subsequently occurred that Marxism was developed in the process of being combined with the specific realities of the Chinese revolution. Thus, the mastering and carrying forward of Marxism by young people is an important growth point for Marxism and is also the crux in bringing its guiding role into play. Whether or not the new generation of young students can inherit and carry forward this tradition will affect, and even determine, the future of Marxism in China. We ardently hope that more young people will be able to soberly recognize their sacred responsibility to uphold and develop Marxism; strengthen their sense of mission; study hard; engage arduously in practice; share the country's burdens; put efforts into helping the people; and able to mold and temper themselves into young Marxists.

The growth of young people is tightly linked with Marxism. Our university students are the progeny of the broad masses and are also the future main force of the working class. We believe that they will consider themselves the material weapons by which Marxism realizes the transformation of the world and will take Marxism as their own spiritual weapon in their progress, tightly linking these two aspects together.

## Strengthening Guidance of Activities by Which University Students Study Marxism-Leninism

In developing activities for studying Marxism-Leninism, resolving the deep-level problems that exist among young students and helping young students to establish a correct world view and view of life are important measures in strengthening ideological and political work. At present, we should stress resolving the problem of how to ensure that this study is carried out in a solid, deep, and sustained way and guard against the phenomena of formalism and rushing headlong into mass action, which occurred in the past.

First, we should stress the study and resolution of some theoretical and cognitive problems which exist among young people.

On the problem of how to view Marxism, for some time, because of the influence of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalism and the laxity of our ideological and political work, some university students had many confused understandings and mistaken views. Some did not understand the great significance and practical role of the emergence and development of Marxism. They believed that times differ and that Marxism is "outdated". Some could not view correctly the difficulties faced by socialism or the complications it experienced in the course of its development and believed that socialism had "failed". Some held that it was alright to study Marxism as a science because it did explain some problems of capitalist society but wondered whether it was necessary to stress it as a guiding ideology. These problems of ideological understanding are major obstacles in developing the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism and we should make efforts to resolving them. There are

many methods of resolving them but the crux lies in dealing with the various acute problems that exist and using the basic principles of Marxism to scientifically explain them. Through specifically analyzing the interpretation that created the mistake, we must get the broad number of young people to master, on a very essential level, the scientific nature, practical nature, and class nature of Marxism and, thereby, understand Marxism scientifically, completely, and precisely. For example, on the question of whether Marxism is outdated and whether or not it is of use, it is difficult to explain this just from specific situations. It is necessary to start with the basics and show the students that Marxism is a well-knit, complete, and open scientific system which, when it came into being, drew in the philosophical, natural science, and social science achievements of the time and that, following the development of science and the practice of the proletarian revolution, it has been continually enriched and developed and will never remain unchanging at its old level. Marxism explains the general patterns of the development of the natural world and human society and, up to now, there is nothing that can demonstrate that its basic contents are erroneous. Quite the contrary, the achievements of contemporary natural sciences, and the developments and changes in the social sciences, have increasingly proven the scientific nature of Marxism. The developments in Western capitalism have not eliminated the innate basic contradictions and, even less can they change the conclusions that Marxist analysis has reached on these basic contradictions. The new scientific and technological revolution, and the great flood of scientific and technological achievements, have not transcended the basic patterns revealed by materialist dialectics but, rather, they are new materials for enriching and developing Marxism. Engels pointed out: "The overall world view of Marx is not dogma but, rather, a method. What is provided is not a readymade doctrine but a starting point for further research and a method to be used in this research." (*Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 39, p 406) If we understand this fact, we will not just seek out and apply set Marxist phrases to explain new questions that occur in practice or, if we cannot find a set phrase, say that Marxism is of no use or outdated. On the contrary, we will learn how to use the position, viewpoints and methods of Marxism to analyze and resolve questions. Comrade Jiang Zemin has said: "The vitality of Marxism lies in the fact that it always maintains a tight link with real life and that it opens avenues for resolving the various new problems which are met in practice." The view that Marxism does not have any practical significance is, on the one hand, the result of the holders of this view not having mastered the basic principles of Marxism. On the other hand, because they are not good at using the basic principles of Marxism to analyze concrete problems in reality, they forget that seeking truth from facts is the essence of Marxism. Lenin said: "This theory openly holds that one's task is to reveal all forms of antagonism and exploitation in modern society, to examine their changes, to prove their transitory nature and the inevitability that they will change into other

forms and, thereby, to help the proletariat eliminate as quickly and easily as possible all exploitation." (*Collected Works of Lenin*, Second Edition, Vol 1, p 291) The victory of our revolution and construction, and the achievements of reform and opening up, were all realized under the guidance of Marxism. The great role that Marxism has demonstrated in China fully proves that it is a strong ideological weapon by which the proletariat strives for liberation and victory. It is because of this that Marxism has been subject to attacks and slander from the bourgeoisie. It is this point that requires us, in the course of our study of Marxism, to use every opportunity to go deep among the masses of workers and peasants, build affectionate ties with them, understand where their aspirations, demands and basic interests lie, and consciously think about things and handle matters by proceeding from the interests of the people. This is the road we must take in order to understand and master Marxism.

Proceeding from the basic characteristics of Marxism that are constituted by its scientific nature, practical nature, and class nature, and scientifically, completely, and accurately understanding and mastering the ideological system of Marxism is the most basic and key work in guiding to a deeper level the activities by which university students study Marxism-Leninism. We must put great efforts into this.

Second, the leaders at various levels must give this study their attention and must take the lead in studying well. Only if the leaders themselves study well will they be able to organize and guide this study by students. This is a precondition. It is necessary to adopt powerful measures to ensure that the activities by which university students study Marxism-Leninism are truly brought into the orbit of ideological and political work in tertiary institutions. The overall goal of tertiary institutions is to train builders of, and successors to, the socialist cause and the dissemination to and education of young students in Marxism is an essential element in this. It is necessary in accordance with the characteristics of students of different schools, different specialties, and different ages to formulate realistic and feasible development plans for the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism, to put forward targeted and differentiated study requirements, to plan the contents of study and to formulate study methods suited to the characteristics of the students. We should require that student party members, and those students who have taken active steps to join the party, take the lead in studying Marxism-Leninism and play a backbone role in the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism. We must also frequently examine their study situation, put forward new specific requirements, and gradually establish systems.

Marxist theory classes are the main avenue by which tertiary institutions carry out dissemination of and education in Marxism among students. The development of the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism must be linked together with this main avenue and the contents of the activities must be decided in the light of the

contents of education in the Marxist theory classes, to increase the systematic and thoroughgoing nature of the study. It is also necessary to bring into play the role of the Marxist theory teachers in the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, Marxist theory classes should draw experiences from the activities by which university students study Marxism-Leninism, to continually raise their quality of teaching. In addition, education on the international situation, national history, the tasks put forward by the situation, and the party's principles and policies must be combined with studying Marxism-Leninism properly so that the students understand that Marxism is a plain and simple truth. In this way, we will be able to ensure that each aspect promotes the other and that they complement each other.

Third, guidance must be appropriate, to solidly guide to a deeper level the activities by which university students study Marxism-Leninism. With Marxist-Leninist study groups, spare-time party schools, and spare-time Communist Youth League [CYL] schools, that is "one group and two schools", as the main forms, we must sustain this study over a long period. We must strengthen links and strengthen interflow between the Marxist-Leninist study groups and mass organization groups in which students study Marxism-Leninism. Marxist-Leninist study groups must bring into play their basic role, while the spare-time party schools and spare-time CYL schools must play a model role, continually providing backbone elements for the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism. We should actively create conditions for the "one group and two schools" in terms of teachers, venues, and guidance materials.

Mastering Marxism-Leninism requires a certain amount of practice as a base and young Marxists must temper themselves and become mature through practice. The practice of the activities whereby university students study Marxism-Leninism has proven that those who have done solid study, and seen achievements in their study are those who have put effort into combining theory and practice. It is necessary to put effort into the two aspects of theory and practice and to place stress on combining these two aspects. The demands placed on students in the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism must be appropriate and the contents of the study must be refined. The study should begin with practical problems which are of concern to students and then gradually advance to studying the basic principles of Marxism; studying the line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; and studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's exposition on building socialism with Chinese characteristics. On the basis of initially mastering some basic knowledge of Marxism, and in accordance with the contents and demands of the different stages of study, some investigation topics should be put forward and some specific social practice should be organized. Thereby, the students will be able to go deep into the realities of reform and opening up and deep among the masses of workers

and peasants, to deepen their understanding of theory. From their days in primary schools to their time at university, young students generally do most of their study in school and have contact with society through the school. Thus, they have few opportunities to understand the national conditions and little perceptual knowledge of the national conditions. Therefore, some students, when studying the "Communist Manifesto" do not have a deep comprehension of the advanced nature of the party but, when they have seen the great power of the party line, principles, and policies in social practice, they come to know that the party is indeed like that stated in the "Manifesto". "The communists are, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes all others forward and, theoretically, they have the advantage over the great mass of the proletariat of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement." (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 1, p 264) This deepens their understanding of the original work. We must help young students raise their capacity to use the basic viewpoint of Marxism to analyze and resolve problems. The great changes in the international situation and the various new situations and new problems which have appeared in domestic reform, opening up, and construction may all be reflected among the young students and may produce all sorts of ideological problems. The study of Marxism-Leninism is precisely to learn how to correctly analyze the causes of these problems, to analyze their nature, to seek methods by which to resolve them, to dispel the mists which cloud the vision, to resolve concerns on the ideological level, to firm conviction, to strengthen faith, and to correctly grasp the situation. In the same way, the correct handling of some problems which appear in study, work, and life, for example, the rectification of study aims, the raising of the motivation for study, and the correct understanding and handling of the relationships between individuals and the collective, individual aspirations and social needs, and so on, are all important links in fostering and improving their ability to analyze and resolve questions.

Fourth, the CYL is the party's helper and reserve force. It is the school in which the broad number of young people study communism through practice. Using communism to guide young people and to arm young people is the glorious task of the CYL. In ideological and political education by the CYL there must, in the light of the ideological realities of the studies, be regular education in Marxist theory. This is both a firm theoretical base on which to conduct education in other spheres and, in addition, this plays a scientific guiding role. We must make the activities of organizing Marxist-Leninist study groups regular work for CYL organizations in tertiary institutions. This should be included in CYL work plans, and must be grasped unremittingly so that results can be achieved.

CYL cadres must take the lead in studying Marxism. Tertiary institution CYL cadres are situated on the

front line of student work and shoulder a large amount of complex day-to-day work. The more this is so, the more they must make time to study Marxism and to guide students in doing well in the study of Marxism. The leading CYL organs and CYL schools at all levels must further grasp the training of school CYL cadres in Marxist theory. The activities of studying Marxism-Leninism must be organized and implemented at the basic levels. The CYL branches should become major supports for the activities of studying Marxism-Leninism and the CYL branch secretaries should become organizers of groups for studying Marxism-Leninism.

### Contribution of Mao's Study of National Conditions

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[Article by Zheng Derong (6774 1795 2837), professor of CPC history at Northeast Teacher's University, and Tang Lixia (3282 7787 7209), doctoral student of CPC history at Northeast Teacher's University: "Mao Zedong's Analysis and Study of the National Condition During the Democratic Revolution Period"]

[Text] The national condition is the objective basis on which the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) formulates its lines, tactics, and technologies. A correct understanding of the national condition is the prerequisite for leading the Chinese revolution to victory, and represents the fundamental basis and starting point for building China into a modern socialist country with its own characteristics. The great victory of China's democratic revolution is closely related to the CPC's correct understanding of the national condition. The scientific analysis and study of the national condition that Mao Zedong, the great leader of CPC, undertook during the democratic revolution period undoubtedly played an important role in the victory of the revolution. His practice has left us a valuable spiritual wealth.

#### I

In 1920, Mao Zedong, still in his youth, once said, "If we want to do our part for the world today, we cannot separate ourselves from this land 'China,' and it seems we must carry out on-the-spot investigation and study of this land." (Note 1: *Early Manuscripts of Mao Zedong*, compiled by the Party Literature Research Center and the editorial group for *Early Manuscripts of Mao Zedong* of the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee, First Edition, 1990, p 474) His concise and insightful remarks demonstrated the great importance he attached to the study of the national condition and his aspiration to use this study to explore possible paths for saving China. During the long years of the Chinese revolution, which he led, he gained an increasingly deeper understanding of the importance of studying the national condition. If we read the valuable works he left behind, we will find many of his brilliant

expositions on the importance of understanding the national condition. His teachings are still very profound and correct even when we study them today.

Mao Zedong has several basic conceptions of the importance of a correct understanding of the national condition:

First, a clear understanding of the national condition is the fundamental basis for understanding all other revolutionary issues, and the core of the national condition lies in the nature of the society. Mao Zedong pointed out that the nature of Chinese society, or China's special national condition, was the most basic starting-point in solving any problem related to the Chinese revolution. "Only when we have a clear understanding of the nature of Chinese society will we be able to clearly understand the targets, tasks, motivations, forces, nature, future, and transformations of the Chinese revolution." (Note 2: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 2, p 633) "The targets, tasks, and motivating forces of the Chinese revolution are basic issues related to the current stage of the Chinese revolution and arise from the special nature of Chinese society, i.e., from China's special conditions." (Note 3: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Volume 2, p 646) Precisely on the basis of this understanding, Mao Zedong made a historical exploration of the formation of the nature of China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and analyzed its characteristics. Based on the conclusions of this study, he concentrated his expositions on the essential issues of the Chinese revolution that were generated by China's special national conditions. This way of thinking of Mao Zedong played an important and guiding role enabling the entire party to understand a series of major issues concerning the Chinese revolution.

Second, a correct understanding of the national condition is the key link for integrating Marxism with China's revolutionary practice. Marxism is the guidance for the communists' activities. Ever since the day of its founding, the CPC has used Marxism and Leninism as its guide, and has, in accordance with the communist ideological system, led the Chinese people in their revolutionary struggle. However, only by integrating its universal principles with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution can Marxism give full play to its guiding role and can it have vitality. Mao Zedong pointed out, "The great strength of Marxism-Leninism lies precisely in its connection with the concrete revolutionary practice of various countries. ...Any discussion of Marxism in isolation from China's characteristics is merely abstract, empty Marxism." (Note 4: *Selected works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 2, p 534) In order to integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the central link is to persist in investigation and study and in gaining a deep understanding of China's national condition. Mao Zedong pointed out: "Chinese Communists can be regarded as linking theory with practice only when they become good at applying the Marxist-Leninist

stance, viewpoints, and methods, and Lenin and Stalin's teachings on the Chinese revolution and when, furthermore, through serious research into the realities of China's history and revolution, they do creative theoretical work to meet China's needs in various aspects." (Note 5: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second edition, Vol 3, p 820) For this purpose, Mao Zedong called on the entire party to "learn how to apply the Marxist-Leninist stance, viewpoints, and methods in the serious study of China's history, economy, politics, military affairs, and culture as well as to make concrete analysis of every problem on the basis of detailed material and only then draw theoretical conclusions. This is the responsibility we must shoulder." (Note 6: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 3, pp 814-815) This thinking of Mao Zedong is a scientific understanding gained in the struggle against the "left" and right opportunism within the party and is based on rich revolutionary practice.

Third, a correct understanding of the national condition is the basic prerequisite for formulating correct strategies and tactics. Mao Zedong pointed out: "The twofold basic task of the Communist Party's leading authorities is to understand the conditions and have a good grasp of policies. The former means knowing the world and the latter means changing the world." (Note 7: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 3, p 802) Nevertheless, "the Communists' correct and unwavering struggle tactics are produced in the course of mass struggle and are never produced by a few people sitting in a house, that is to say, they come only from practical experience. Therefore, we need to understand social affairs on a day to day basis, and we need to make practical investigations every day." (Note 8: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 1, p 115) Simply because he had developed such a profound understanding of the nature and characteristics of China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, Mao Zedong was able to formulate for the party the general line of a new democratic revolution and a series of strategies and tactics. This understanding also enabled him to find a revolutionary path with Chinese characteristics.

So we can see that the national condition is an objective existence. Only with a correct understanding of the national condition can we formulate the correct line, principles, and policies, and lead the revolutionary cause to victory.

## II

While leading the prolonged struggle of China's democratic revolution, Mao Zedong, through investigation and study of the national condition, systematically put forward his theoretical results, leaving us with a valuable spiritual treasure.

Early in the great revolution period in China [1924-1927], Mao Zedong paid much attention to the class situation in Chinese society, especially the strategic

status of the peasants in the Chinese revolution. One after another, he wrote important articles such as "The Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" and "A Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan." In these articles, Mao Zedong, applying the Marxist scientific method and summing up the correct ideas within the party at that time, made a comprehensive analysis of the economic status and political attitudes of various classes in China, and, on the basis of this analysis, drew an extremely important conclusion: "Our enemies are all those who are in league with imperialism—the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class, and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right-wing may become our enemy and their left-wing may become our friend—but we must be constantly on guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks." (Note 9: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 1, p 9)

After the failure of the great revolution, the Chinese revolution was at a crucial turning point. Mao Zedong, with the Marxist viewpoint of class analysis, promptly made a correct judgment of the class nature of the Nanjing Kuomintang regime as well as the nature of Chinese society. He further analyzed the fact that China was a semicolonial, semifeudal society whose economy was based on local agriculture, which was indirectly ruled by several imperialist countries, and which was characterized by imbalanced development in its economy and politics. Mao Zedong then pointed out that the Chinese revolution must encircle the cities with the rural areas and seize political power using armed force. He also made several investigations in the rural areas and wrote many important articles, such as "Survey of Xingguo," "Survey of Xunwu," and "How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas," giving the party a scientific basis for carrying out land revolution and formulating its class policies. After the North China Incident, Mao Zedong made a timely analysis of the fundamental changes in class relationships caused by the deepening national contradictions, and thus formed a theoretical basis for the party to formulate its policy on the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

During the war of resistance against Japan, Mao Zedong not only set an example with his personal investigation of the national condition, but also advocated and promoted the style of making investigations throughout the party so that the entire party had a more comprehensive and systematic understanding of the national condition and this type of theory was raised to a higher level. In a series of theoretical works, such as "On Protracted War," "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," and "On New Democracy," Mao Zedong made a scientific analysis and judgment on China's special national conditions, including Chinese society's politics, economy, and culture. In particular, he made a

penetrating summary of the characteristics of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, specifically, that the exploitation of the peasants by landlords played a dominant role in China's social and economic life; some degree of national capitalism had developed, but it was not the primary element of China's social economy; dictatorship of the alliance of the landlord class and the big bourgeoisie was in place; imperialist forces controlled China's finance, economy, politics, and military affairs; the development of China's economy, politics, and culture was extremely imbalanced; and the Chinese people were suffering extreme poverty and lack of freedom. Though taking the nature of society as the essence of the national condition, Mao Zedong did not consider it the complete picture. He paid a great deal of attention to China's social and natural conditions. During this period, Mao Zedong, while expounding the characteristics of the semicolonial and semif封建社会, also analyzed the geographic environment, the population, the admirable cultural heritage, and the revolutionary traditions of the Chinese nation.

On the eve of the founding of New China, there were problems such as how to turn China, after its nationwide victory, from an agricultural to an industrial nation and how to move from new democratic revolution to socialist revolution. For this reason, Mao Zedong attached special importance to the proportion of China's modern industry to agriculture and individual handicrafts in the national economy, and pointed out that the proportion of 10 to 90 percent would be the basic starting-point for all issues, both during the Chinese revolutionary period and for a considerably long period after this revolution's victory. Proceeding from this point, our party handled a series of issues in strategies, tactics and policies quite successfully, and thus guaranteed a smooth transition.

### III

History has shown that Mao Zedong's analysis and study of the national condition during the democratic revolution period was a brilliant practice and a great success. The methods he applied in his analysis and study are of great significance in giving us guidance in our study of the national condition today.

Mao Zedong's methods of understanding the national condition during the democratic revolution period are as follows:

First, the analysis of the mode of social production. The core of the national condition is the nature of society. Marxism holds that, to understand the nature of a society, one must have a clear understanding of that society's mode of production. Mao Zedong used precisely this method to understand the nature of China's semicolonial and semif封建社会. Seizing the nature of social changes in China after the Opium War in 1840, Mao Zedong correctly pointed out that the imperialist invasion of China gave the economy of China's society the following characteristics: Imperialists controlled

China's economy so that China became their dependency; although the natural economy of self-sufficiency of the feudal society was destroyed, the exploitation of the peasants by the landlords still occupied a dominant position in China's social and economic life; and national capitalism, though somewhat developed, was still very weak and had certain connections with both imperialism and feudalism. On the basis of this analyses of the production relations of the Chinese society, Mao Zedong clearly pointed out that China was no longer a feudal society. "Since the Opium War of 1840, China has gradually changed into a semicolonial and semif封建社会." (Note 10: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 2, p 626) "Such then, such is the nature of present-day Chinese society and the state of affairs in our country." (Note 11: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 2, p 665)

Second, class analysis. Marxist theory of class analysis is a powerful ideological weapon for the proletariat in its effort to correctly understand society and carry out revolutionary struggle. Mao Zedong pointed out: "To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution." (Note 12: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 1, p 3) The ultimate goal of analyzing various social classes is to develop a clear understanding of their mutual relationship in order to assess them correctly and then to formulate correct struggle strategies. Mao Zedong believed: "The most basic method for understanding conditions is to concentrate on a few cities and villages according to a plan and use the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism, i.e., the method of class analysis, to make a number of thorough investigations. Only thus can we acquire the most basic knowledge of China's social problems." (Note 13: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 3, p 789) With this method, Mao Zedong investigated and studied the economic status and political attitudes of various classes and strata and their relationship in Chinese society. Then he wrote "Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society," "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," and "How to Differentiate Classes in Rural Areas." In these articles, Mao Zedong made a scientific analysis of various classes in Chinese society and provided our party with an objective basis for the formulation of its policies and strategies.

Third, the combination of history with reality, and of the static with the dynamic. In the course of leading the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong persisted in using Marxist materialist dialectics to understand the national condition. He regarded the current national condition as the continuation of a historical trend and developed an understanding of it from the relationship between history and the present. For example, in studying the characteristics of a semicolonial and semif封建社会, he analyzed the characteristics of feudal society. To gain an understanding of changes in the principal contradictions of Chinese society, he first of all analyzed the

principal contradictions in previous societies. On this basis, he analyzed the changes of the principal social contradictions at that time. To gain an understanding of class conditions in society, he also paid much attention to studying its origin and development. "The conclusion we made from our investigation is the prosperity and the decline, the glory and the humiliation of each class at present and in the past." (Note 14: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 1, p 113) By relating history to reality, Mao Zedong then had a "better and deeper understanding" about Chinese society, especially conditions in the rural areas. (Note 15: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol 5, p 307)

The national condition is not always the same, and therefore there is no end to our interpretation. Mao Zedong pointed out, "Due to internal contradictions and struggles, any process, either natural or social, is moving forward and developing, and so is our understanding." (Note 16: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 1, p 294) To understand the national condition, one should not only have a firm grasp of those things that are relatively static in a certain period of time, but should also conduct a timely study of new factors and new situations. When Chinese society was changing from one stage of development to another, Mao Zedong made a timely change in his understanding to keep abreast of the transition or changes rather than let his understanding remain the same. For example, when the Japanese imperialist invasion into China began, Mao Zedong made a timely and new analysis of the original nature of the society, the principal contradictions, and class relationships. In this way, his understanding of the national situation conforms to the new objective reality.

Fourth, an awareness of both the advantages and disadvantages of the national condition. The purpose of understanding and appraising the national condition is to formulate a correct line, principles, and policies. There are both advantages and disadvantages in the national condition. Recognizing only one aspect and neglecting the other leaves one liable to subjectivism. In gaining an understanding of the national condition, Mao Zedong paid attention to both the advantageous and disadvantageous aspects to develop a comprehensive point of view. While discussing the strategy of a protracted war of resistance against Japanese aggression, Mao Zedong made a comprehensive analysis of the characteristics of both China and Japan and a comparative study of both the advantages and disadvantages of each side, and then concluded that, since the protracted war continued and since the Chinese side overcame its disadvantages and brought into play its advantages, Japan's advantages and China's disadvantages would certainly develop in opposite directions.

Fifth, comparative study. The national condition is not only the objective result of the course of a nation's historical development but is also the real difference expressed through comparison with other nations. Therefore, in order to have a correct understanding of

our own national condition, we must use the comparative method to find out the differences and the specific character of our nation as compared with those of other nations. This kind of comparative study is another important method Mao used in analyzing the national condition. In analyzing China's specific characters, he often compared China with other countries. In his article "Problems of War and Strategy", Mao Zedong compared China with the capitalist countries and pointed out: The capitalist countries practice bourgeois democracy (not feudalism); in their external relations, they are not oppressed by, but themselves oppress, other nations. This gives the political parties of the proletariat in the capitalist countries the task of building up strength through a long period of legitimate struggle and finally overthrowing capitalism. Even if there is an insurrection or war, the first step will be to seize the cities and then move on to attack the countryside. "China, however, is different. China is not independent and democratic but rather semicolonial and semifeudal; internally it has no democracy but is under feudal oppression; and in external relations it has no national independence but is oppressed by imperialism. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize workers to strike. Basically, the Communist Party's task here is not to go through a long period of legitimate struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse." (Note 17: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 2, p 542)

The article "On Protracted War" is another brilliant example of applying the comparative method to scientifically analyze the national characteristics of both China and Japan at that time.

While studying the class conditions of Chinese society, Mao paid equal attention to comparative study in order to grasp the specific characteristics of the classes in China. For example, he paid much attention to the characteristics of the Chinese proletariat as compared with the proletariat of other countries. According to the identical and different characteristics of the bourgeois class in China and that in other countries, Mao Zedong classified the Chinese bourgeois class into two parts and emphasized analyzing the dual character of the national bourgeoisie.

Sixth, the combination of qualitative analysis with quantitative analysis. In studying the national condition, Mao Zedong attached great importance to basic quantitative analysis, which he combined with qualitative analysis. Mao Zedong pointed out, "We must pay attention to the quantitative aspect of a situation or problem and make a basic quantitative analysis. Every quality manifests itself in a certain quantity, and without quantity there can be no quality. To this day many of our comrades still do not understand that they must pay attention to the quantitative aspect of things—the basic statistics, the main percentages, and the quantitative limits that determine quality. They have no 'figures' in their heads, and, as a

result, cannot help making mistakes." (Note 18: *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 4, p 1,442)

In Mao Zedong's works, we can many see figures. For instance, in his analysis of land ownership and economic conditions in China, Mao Zedong used many figures to prove his theory. By combining quantitative analysis with qualitative analysis in our understanding of the national condition, we can formulate a comprehensive and scientific analysis and conclusion and learn how things stand.

Furthermore, the main and correct method of understanding the national condition is investigation and study. Mao Zedong wrote quite a few works and set us a very good example in this respect. It was precisely because of his application of the scientific viewpoint and method that Mao Zedong was able to make a correct understanding of the national condition.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which was initiated by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, our party has restored and developed the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts. Our party has also attached great importance to the understanding of the national condition and to education about the national situation. With an extensive investigation and study on various fields in China and the proof with Marxist scientific methods, our party has gained a clear understanding that China is at the initial stage of socialism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put forward "one center, two basic points" as the basic line for the initial stage of socialism, which guides us on our steadfast march along the road to socialism with Chinese characteristics.

#### Importance of, Tests Facing Faith in Communism

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[Article by Shen Baoxiang (3088 1405 4382): "Communist Party Members Must Have Firm Faith in Communism"]

[Text] Faith is a powerful spiritual force. Faith in communism is a special spiritual prop of Communist Party members. "In the past, our party, no matter how weak or what difficulties it encountered, always had a strong fighting capacity because we had faith in Marxism and communism. With common ideals, we also have iron discipline. Regardless of whether we speak of the past, the present or the future, this is a real superiority that we possess" (Deng Xiaoping, *Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics*, revised and enlarged edition, pp 123-124) As a Communist Party member, upholding faith in communism is required political integrity. In the situation today, in which the international scene is constantly changing, in which the international communist movement is at a low ebb, and in which the party faces three major tests, upholding faith in communism has even greater special significance.

#### I. Faith in Communism is the Centralized Manifestation of a Communist World View, and View of Life and Values

The CPC party Constitution stipulates that the final goal of the party is the realization of a communist social system. Members of the CPC must struggle all their lives in order to realize communism. In fact, when every communist enters the Communist Party, with the clear aim of struggling to achieve the goal of communism held high in his heart, he makes a solemn vow that he is willing to sacrifice himself completely in bravely struggling to realize this great goal. This is the establishing of a communist faith.

In *On Self-Cultivation by Communist Party Members*, Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: "The communist cause is a lifelong cause. All activities throughout our lives must be for this cause and for nothing else." (*Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, Vol I, p 129) This is the view of life and values of us Communist Party members. Firmly believing that communist society is the most wonderful society in human history and firmly believing that the communist cause will indeed see victory and that communist society certainly can be realized, taking the realization of communism as one's highest ideal and putting efforts into struggling all one's life for the cause of communism—this is the basic content of what we call faith in communism, and are also centralized manifestations of a communist's world view, and view of life and values.

Communist Party members' faith in communism is built on a scientific base, has gone through scientific testing and has been through and continues to go through the test of practice.

The revolutionary teachers Marx and Engels used dialectical materialism and historical materialism to reveal the objective patterns of mankind's social development, to dissect capitalist society and to establish a scientific theory of socialism. They proved that human society goes through a process of dialectical development from a quite low form to a quite high form, and revealed the objective pattern by which capitalist society will inevitably become extinct and socialist society will inevitably be victorious. Through the great development of the productive forces and the overall progress of society during the socialist stage, society will finally develop into a communist society. Communist society is a society that realizes a qualitative leap but that inherits the achievements of civilization created by mankind in all previous stages of social development. It is a society that has eliminated exploitation and in which the productive forces see unprecedented development, a society where products are bountiful, where people see overall development and where each person contributes in accordance to his ability and there is distribution according to need. In Comrade Mao Zedong's words, this is a society of "unlimited brilliance and unlimited beauty." This is the world view of communists. Faith in communism has this world view as its base.

When Marx and Engels reorganized the League of the Just into the Communist League in 1847, the world's first proletarian political party was born, and over the last century, the communist movement has overcome innumerable difficulties and complications and continuously developed forward. The year 1917 saw the victory of the October Revolution in Russia and the establishment of the world's first socialist state. After World War II, a number of socialist states appeared in the world. Then, in 1949, China, the most populous country in the world, achieved victory in the revolution, established the PRC, and took the socialist road. Through 40 years of efforts, the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics has realized achievements recognized throughout the world. One hundred years of development of the communist movement and especially the healthy development of socialism in China with its population of 1.1 billion has powerfully proved that socialism has a powerful vitality and vigor and that the communist ideal is certainly not a baseless fantasy. Socialism is the first stage of communism and communism is the inevitable trend of the development of socialism. Although the road is still long and there will be complications along the way, the historical inevitability that communism will finally be achieved already appears increasingly clearly before us.

The cause of communism is a cause of unprecedented arduousness in human history. Only by engaging in long-term, arduous, and tortuous struggle and going through various mutually linked stages of development will we be able to gradually approach and finally realize this final goal. Every step in this is an essential stage of development in achieving the final goal. In our country, the communist movement under the leadership of the CPC has already gone through the stages of the new democratic revolution and the stage of establishing the state, and is now in the initial stage of socialism. In the future, it still needs to go through various stages of development before being able to finally enter communist society. Thus, every CPC member must put great efforts into struggling to attain the line and tasks set down by the party in the current stage. This is a major criterion for assessing whether or not a Communist Party member has really established faith in communism. During the period of the democratic revolution, when expounding on the relationship between the goals of the democratic revolution and the distant goals of communism, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "If any communist or communist sympathizer does not struggle for this goal, looks down upon this bourgeois democratic revolution, is even a bit lax or slow in his struggle or shows disloyalty or lack of zeal for it, is not prepared to shed his own blood or give his own life for it, and instead just talks emptily about socialism and communism, then either consciously or unconsciously and to a greater or lesser degree he is betraying socialism and communism and is not a conscious and loyal communist." (*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, second edition, Vol. 3, pp 1059-60) The spirit of this incisive exposition is completely in accord with the current historical stage.

Today, the faith in communism of us Communist Party members is mainly manifested in the implementation of the basic line of "one center and two basic points" in the various aspects of specific work necessary to realize the second-step strategic goal in economic and social development and in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. If we do not make efforts and are not positive in the various aspects of practical work in implementing the basic line of the party and in building socialism with Chinese characteristics, or even engage in various unhealthy trends, using power to seek private benefit or violating law and discipline, we will not be conscious or loyal communists and there will be no way to even talk about having a firm communist faith.

## II. Overcoming Contradictions in Practice, and Continually Consolidating Faith in Communism

In actual society, and especially in an environment of reform and opening up and developing commodity economy, the communist faith of Communist Party members will be subject to the challenges and pummeling of all sorts of ideological concepts, and in the minds of Communist Party members there will inevitably be all sorts of contradictions. Thus, upholding faith in communism is inevitably a process of continual strengthening of ideological self-cultivation by Communist Party members. As Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "This is basically a process by which every Communist Party member uses a proletarian ideological consciousness to engage in struggle with his own various nonproletarian ideological consciousnesses; uses a communist world view to engage in struggle with his own various noncommunist world views; and uses the principle that the interests of the proletariat, the people and the party are above all else to engage in struggle with his own individualistic ideas." (*Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, First Volume, p 121) Seen from history and the present situation, the communist faith of Communist Party members is often subject to challenges and tests in the following aspects.

1. The tests of attacks by ideological tides. The communist faith is based on scientific theory and is a crystallization of proletarian ideological consciousness. If the theoretical level of a Communist Party member is low and he lacks the capacity to clearly distinguish right from wrong, or if he is subject to the influences of nonproletarian ideology and erroneous theoretical viewpoints, his faith in communism may waver. Because of this, anti-communist hostile forces and bourgeois elements frequently use their reactionary viewpoints and corrupt ideas to corrode the ideology of Communist Party members, in order to have them doubt or even turn their backs on communism. At present, Western hostile forces are engaged in the strategy of promoting peaceful evolution in socialist countries and have aimed their spearhead at the communist parties that hold power. One of their major strategies is to belittle, in various ways, Marxism and socialism and to spread bourgeois ideologies, values and lifestyles, in order to achieve a change in the ideology of Communist Party members, so that they turn their backs on communism. In some countries

which were originally socialist, the ideological tide of democratic socialism has spread throughout the Communist Party, resulting in many Communist Party members gradual rejection of Marxism and scientific socialism, and giving up their faith in communism, and finally leading to a quantitative change in the party. In our party, there are also some party members who have been subject in differing degrees to the influence of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization. Their belief has seen crisis, their faith has wavered, and their revolutionary will has declined. Some have even taken the road of opposing the party and opposing socialism. Thus, we need to clearly distinguish the boundaries between socialism and capitalism and between the proletarian ideological system and nonproletarian ideological systems. This is the major issue in upholding faith in communism.

2. The tests of serious difficulties and setbacks. In the international history of communism, whenever the revolution met serious difficulties, setbacks or crises and was at a low ebb, there have always been some Communist Party members who were pessimistic and without hope for the future. They were doubtful and wavering about communism and some even betrayed the revolution and left the Communist Party. When the 1905 Revolution in Russia failed, the communist faith of some persons in the Social Democratic Workers' Party wavered and they wrote books advocating empiriocriticism and tried to use this to replace Marxism. After the defeat in the first revolutionary civil war in our country, the revolutionary situation saw a decline and some Communist Party members could not recognize the prospects for the inevitable victory of the revolution, and they had doubts about "how long the Red flag could fly." At present, the temporary low tide being experienced by the socialist cause around the world will undoubtedly acutely affect people's communist faith. It will encourage people to examine, on a basic level, whether they should trust firmly in socialism and communism or half trust in it and half doubt it, or even whether they should strike out on a new path and trust in some other belief. In this process, some Communist Party members may experience doubts as to whether socialism can be sustained and whether it will achieve victory, and their faith in communism may waver. In response to this, we need to clearly understand the objective patterns of social development, clearly understand the great historical trend whereby socialism will inevitably replace capitalism, firm our own faith in communism and unwaveringly travel the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

3. The tests of money and material inducements. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago that some Communist Party members, when faced with enemies who carry guns, act in ways worthy of heroes, but when they meet enemies who employ sugar-coated bullets, they are defeated. This has been proven true by many facts since the founding of New China. When subjected to the enticements of money and goods, some Communist Party members who are unwavering in their revolutionary will, forget their communist ideals, forget the

principles and aims of the party, do all sorts of things that go against their status as party members and even do things that violate law and discipline. This problem is particularly prominent under conditions of reform and opening up and developing the commodity economy. Since the implementation of the policy of opening up to the outside and enlivening the economy domestically, in a few short years, quite a number of Communist Party members and party-member cadres have, when faced with profit, forgotten their duty, become corrupt and engaged in criminal economic activities. These people have generally, under the lure of money and beautiful women, been subject to perniciousness in their individualism, abandoned their communist faith and traveled the road of crime. Every communist must draw lessons from these persons, and firm up his own communist view of life and values.

4. The life-or-death tests. In the history of the Chinese revolution, many Communist Party members have consciously given their precious lives for the great cause of the party. In battle, they heroically slew the enemy and did not fear sacrificing themselves. On the execution ground, they faced death unflinchingly, inspired awe by upholding principles and maintained the great integrity of Communist Party members. As far as real Communist Party members are concerned, faith in communism is higher than all else. However, on the battlefield, in the enemy's courts, and in other harsh situations that threaten life, there are some Communist Party members who shrink back, waver or even turn their backs on and betray the party, and entirely discard their communist faith. Although the life-or-death tests today are manifested in different forms, they still really exist. Placing the interests of the party and the people above all else and being willing to sacrifice oneself completely, even one's life, for the interests of the party and the people and the noble ideals of communism is still an important element in communist faith.

In brief, in actual life, how we communists deal with the various contradictions and difficulties is an examination and test of our faith in communism. We must use our unique indomitable will and noble character as communists to overcome the various contradictions in our minds and practices, to secure victory over various difficulties and obstacles and, in this process, continually strengthen our own faith in communism.

### III. Through the Three Major Tests, Firming Faith and Strengthening Party Spirit

In the new historical conditions, our party is now facing the test of being in power, the test of reform, opening up and developing a commodity economy, and the test of opposing peaceful evolution. These three major tests are tests for party organs at all levels and are also rigorous tests for every party member. The specific conditions of the three major tests are numerous, and include how one treats power and how one treats material benefits. However, in the end they are tests of faith in communism.

The tests of being in power include: Do we consider victory in the revolution, the establishment of a political regime and assuming the position of the party in power as the first step in a long march to realize communism, or do we see these as the completion of the project, allowing us to rest and seek pleasure and enjoyment? Should we use the power in our hands as a tool to seek the people's interests and be happy to be public servants of the people, or should we turn our backs on the ideal of communism and the party's aims, and use power to seek personal benefits? Should we use the political power characterized by the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary condition by which to make the transition to communism, and thus maintain a firm hold on this power, or, in the face of attacks by hostile forces, compromise and give ground, or even submissively give up political power? Are these not all questions of faith in communism?

The tests of reform, opening up and developing commodity economy include the following: In reform and opening up, do we bear in mind the great aims of communism and uphold the socialist orientation, or do we engage in "complete Westernization" and slide toward capitalism? In the process of developing a socialist planned commodity economy, do we guard against corrosion and corruption, engage in firm struggle against all corrupt ideas and phenomena and uphold the communist spirit and style of arduous struggle and honest administration, or do we place money above all else, seek only profit and see party style, principles, morality and even dignity as commodities to be exchanged? These are also questions that test whether one's faith is firm or not.

The tests of opposing peaceful evolution include: Can we clearly recognize the nature and situation of the acute antagonism and struggle between the socialist system and the capitalist system, and firmly oppose the defamation and attacks on socialism by Western hostile forces? Will we be able, on the theoretical and ideological levels, to clearly distinguish the boundaries between socialism and capitalism, between scientific socialism and democratic socialism, and between socialism with Chinese characteristics and bourgeois liberalization and other mistaken ideas? Can we uphold Marxism and uphold the basic line of "one center and two basic points?" Will we be able to bear the political and economic pressure exerted on us by hostile Western forces, unwaveringly travel the socialist road and build socialism with Chinese characteristics? These are also questions which test whether our faith in communism is firm or not.

The three great tests are serious examinations and rigorous tests of the communist faith of Communist Party members, and are also very good conditions by which Communist Party members can firm their faith and strengthen party spirit. In firming faith and strengthening party spirit through the three tests, we must stress putting efforts into the following several aspects.

1. We must seriously study Marxist theory. Faith in communism is based on the scientific world view of Marxism. Linked with the current international and domestic realities, the study and grasping of the basic theories of Marxism is a basic condition firming communist faith. Marxist theory can help us to grasp the objective patterns of mankind's social development and, in complex situations, allows us to clearly recognize the major trend of historical development. It can also help us to see through phenomena to observe the essence of things, so that we are not deceived by some temporary phenomena.

2. We must consciously strengthen self-cultivation in terms of ideological consciousness. Faith is something in the subjective world. Upholding faith in communism is an activity by which, in the process of transforming the objective world, one consciously and continuously transforms one's subjective world. If through the three major tests we are to strengthen self-cultivation of ideological consciousness, the key lies in being vigilant against and overcoming individualism. Individualism and communism are acutely antagonistic. The spread and development of individualism will mean that faith in communism will be weakened and will waver.

3. In the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must rouse our spirits. Faith in communism is something deeply ideological and it may appear that it is very abstract. However, it must be manifested in current practice and thus it is very concrete. At the current stage, firmly and completely implementing the basic line of the party, making a contribution to the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and, at the same time, firmly opposing and overcoming the various mistaken ideas and trends which deviate from the party's basic line are important manifestations of party spirit and are also important manifestations of faith in communism. Further, the development of socialist practice and new achievements in the socialist cause will give us full faith in the cause of socialism and communism. As Communist Party members, we are required, in the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, to continually undergo tests so as to steel ourselves and so as to continually strengthen our party spirit and increasingly firm our faith in communism.

## National Affairs, Policy

### Problems in, Ways to Change Enterprise Operations

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[Article by Chao Qian (2600 6197) and Xin Yi (6580 4135): "Some Thoughts on Overhauling Enterprise Operating Mechanisms." The authors are affiliated with the State Council General Office]

#### [Excerpts] I. The State of China's Enterprise Operating Mechanisms

1. Enterprises have greater autonomy but there is greater sense of instability. Past enterprise reforms in essence never went beyond the scope of delegating power to the lower levels and expanding enterprises' right of self-determination. Moreover, how much enterprises received and what kind of autonomous rights they had were determined by the state; enterprises had little say. Survey showed that of the 13 articles in the current "Enterprise Law" that give enterprises their autonomy, only three have been implemented in full; five have been implemented in parts, and five have never been implemented at all. Of the 10 articles that have been carried out in full or in part, some powers that had been delegated to enterprises at one time have been taken away again by the state during rectification and improvement and because of the need to strengthen macro regulation and control, and other rights have been kept by the managing departments and functional departments for their own use. Since how much and what rights enterprises have are at the state's or the managing departments' discretion, there is a strong sense of subjectivity and arbitrariness, inconsistency and instability.

2. Ownership and management rights are separated, but management rights have been weakened. Today's separation of ownership and management rights in fact is the separation of enterprises' internal management rights from their external ownership rights. On the one hand, their management rights are very limited, and on the other hand, there is a lack of constraint over those rights normally exercised by those who have ownership rights. Enterprises' management rights are the simple rights to manage the products and have nothing to do with property relationships; enterprises are acting as agents. In essence this role only makes them responsible to the owners but do not require them to be profit-makers. This puts enterprises under soft budget constraints, depriving them of the driving force to accumulate on their own or strive for their own development.

3. The profit allocation relationship between the state (the owner) and enterprises has been readjusted but not standardized. Measures already introduced to restructure the allocation relationship between the state and enterprises all strive to guarantee the state's income and also take care of enterprises' profit to give the

latter some mechanical financial strength. The purpose of forging this kind of relationship is to encourage enterprises to target efficiency and profit in their incremental production. But this kind of allocation mechanism has nothing to do with increasing or decreasing the base production amount and lacks objective basis. To a large extent, its success is determined by how much the state is willing to "yield" and how hard enterprises "fight" for their rights, and so there are no real standards. This has resulted in enterprises trying to out-bid each other and striving for quick success which in turn have caused distorted enterprise behavior. The two biases that have appeared in the allocation sector in recent years can be attributed to this kind of abnormal and unreasonable allocation mechanism.

4. The separation of government and enterprises has produced little result. In our enterprise reform, we have long advocated separating the responsibilities of government and enterprises so that enterprises are no longer appendages of the government. But the measures that separate government and enterprises have failed to focus on separating the basic functions of the state and enterprises and have limited themselves to redefining their respective duties. Thus we not only are still mixing government and enterprises but are solidifying that setup and creating new conflicts. For example, some enterprises are refusing to implement the state's regulations in the name of separation of government and enterprises. They only want to protect their own interests; they distribute and spend everything they have and waste the state's assets.

The current conditions and flaws of enterprise operating mechanisms are the result of insufficient enterprise management capability and tangled relationships. Under the circumstances, enterprises naturally are without vitality.

1. Lack of ability to compensate fixed assets: At 5.3 percent, the state-run industrial enterprises' fixed asset depreciation rate is very low, and meanwhile, under financial pressure and in order to fulfill the contract responsibilities and pay workers' benefits, enterprises either do not charge or charge very little to depreciation, and as a result, much of the depreciation fund is appropriated for other use. In addition, inflation and the practice of deducting for depreciation at original cost but replacing assets at current cost has greatly diminished enterprises' ability to replace fixed assets. It is estimated that currently, the amount of depreciation fund state-run enterprises have on hand for renovation and transformation is only one-sixth of the fully depreciated amount. In other words, enterprises have lost five-sixth of their ability to replace their fixed assets.

2. Lack of ability to raise current funds: Despite the substitution of state appropriation of current funds by loans, we have not made the normal channels for increasing enterprises' own current funds flow swifter. The fund quota established in 1983 is still being used

today, and meanwhile the production scope has continued to expand and the price index has gone up more than 80 percent. The original current fund quota simply cannot meet the needs of enterprise production and operation. After the new projects go into production, we fail to appropriate supplementary current funds, and in addition, because of the stockpile of goods left by the market slump in the last two to three years and because of the "triangular debts," enterprise current funds are in short supply. The shortage of enterprise-owned current funds forces enterprises to borrow more money from the banks in order to sustain production, and this in turn has added to their interest burden, increased their cost, and has lowered their profit.

3. Lack of ability to pursue technological development: Because of the low depreciation rate, poor efficiency, low profit retention, and shortage of enterprise-owned funds, enterprises seriously lack the ability to pursue technological development. Currently enterprises on the average can fund only 20 percent of their own technological transformation; some industrial bases even have trouble coming up with 10 percent of the funds, and the rest are dependent on loans. The state has not formulated a properly biased credit policy, and so enterprises' debt burden is getting heavier by the day as their ability to repay debts continues to decline. Their enthusiasm for technological transformation has also diminished.

4. Lack of ability to compete in the market: Failure to separate government and enterprises and to give enterprises their right to make decisions has made it impossible for enterprises to meet management needs and respond quickly to market changes. Of course a large number of large- and medium-sized state-run enterprises cannot really orient toward the market because of their many responsibilities assigned by the mandatory plans. During rectification and improvement, the state-run enterprises became the first target amid the drive to toughen the administrative measures, and to some degree that has weakened their once-strengthened ability to compete in the market and adapt to changes. Influenced by the traditional concepts of planned system and product economy, some enterprise managers have little market concept, competitive drive, or the spirit to blaze new trails, and this has directly prevented enterprises from moving toward the market.

5. Lack of cohesive force: Enterprises have little power over the installation of departments, personnel, labor, wage distribution, etc.; in addition, the "big pot" and the "iron ricebowl" have bloated their organization, resulting in poor efficiency and low profit. Rampant bureaucratic tendencies are repressing talented people. The tendency to encourage laziness and discourage hard-work is sapping the workers' enthusiasm. Many enterprise workers are plagued by low morale, and a strange phenomenon has developed where the talented people are losing their jobs and are looking for work while the frontline production is shorthanded. At the same time, slack worker discipline and low morale have made it difficult to put some management systems into effect.

The manifestations of the enterprise management mechanisms' flaws and inadequacies prove that although enterprise reform in the last 10 years and more has produced many results, it has not solved or fundamentally solved some of the more deep-seated problems in the existing enterprise management system, and the operating mechanisms have remained basically unchanged. In the latter part of last year, especially after the Central Party Committee's work meeting in September, the focus of enterprise reform began to shift toward changing the operating mechanisms. All levels of government began to augment and perfect past enterprise reform measures and suggested some new methods and programs. But looking at the result of enterprise operations, their efforts have not been too successful. At the end of February of this year, although the three major indicators—the budgeted state-run industrial enterprises' output value, income from sales, and realized profit tax—were higher compared to the same period last year, the money-losing enterprises were still losing too much money, too large a percentage of the funds was still taken up by finished goods, and production cost of comparable goods continued to rise. We must give this situation some serious thought. What are enterprise operating mechanisms? What kind of enterprise operating mechanism do we really need? Why must we change those mechanisms? What should we change, under what conditions, what procedure should we follow, and what format should it take? If we cannot answer these questions, it will be difficult for us to further enterprise reform, there will be no clear direction as to how to change the enterprise operating mechanisms, and it will be impossible to make any substantive progress. [passage omitted]

Changing enterprise operating mechanisms, readjusting enterprise structure, and nurturing the market, etc., can be accomplished only through the circulation and recombination of society's labor force. This means we must set up a corresponding social protection system, especially different kinds of workers' insurance systems. China's existing workers' insurance system still has many problems. For example, the coverage is limited, choices are limited, and development is uneven; the allocation of centrally-gathered funds is unfair, enterprise burdens are uneven, and the system fails to reach the goal of spreading the risks; state and enterprises are taking on too much and cannot keep up; the method of collecting and dispensing insurance premium is imperfect and cannot raise funds in advance or accumulate funds, and the system fails to link rights and obligations. Thus the system still does not meet the needs of enterprise reform. Today, people who are looking for work cannot get back into society's mainstream, health-care expenses are increasing by leaps and bounds, the number of retired workers is growing by the day, and society's burden is becoming very heavy. These have become major obstacles to enterprise reform and to increasing economic efficiency. To further enterprise reform and change the operating mechanisms, we must abide by the principle of optimal allocation of means of production and the labor

force. Therefore, enterprise combination, mergers, bankruptcies, and replacement of old workers with new ones are inevitable. But under an imperfect social protection system and constrained by the inability to digest and protect those who are looking for work and those who have retired, it will be impossible for enterprises to successfully carry out such normal activities as combination, merger, and declaring bankruptcy. We should accelerate the development of a social protection system. The phenomenon of forcing enterprises to carry a heavy burden while taking part in reforms to maintain social stability cannot be allowed to go on.

Since reform and opening up, China's macroeconomic management has shown signs of decentralizing, and expansion at the local and micro levels has clearly gathered momentum amid the nation's economic growth. These have played a positive role in promoting local and enterprise development. But the productive forces cannot develop simply with this kind of decentralization process and the economy cannot keep on working only with this kind of expansion and self-renewal at the microeconomic level. It is more important that we maintain overall balance in economic volume, continuously optimize and upgrade the industrial structure, and promote the development of a socialist unified market. But to accomplish all these require a strong centralized macroeconomic regulation and control system to organize, guide, and give impetus to the process. Today, China has not yet developed a macroeconomic management system and regulation and control system that is compatible with the development of the planned commodity economy. Our macroeconomic regulation and control that emphasizes finance and banking has been weakened and the responsibilities of various macroeconomic management departments are ill-defined and poorly coordinated. Meanwhile the localities have intensified their administrative interferences in pursuit of their own interests, and to some extent it has led to economic separatism and has obstructed normal resource circulation and market development, making it difficult to implement the state's industrial policy and macroeconomic regulation and control measures and giving rise to homogeneous regional industrial structure, conflicting policies, economic disorder, and excess distribution of the national income and other problems. As a result, enterprise reform is deprived of a good external environment. Furthermore, during rectification and improvement, the state's direct economic interventions have increased, and to some extent this has also exacerbated the problem of mixing government and enterprises under the existing economic management system.

The above analysis demonstrates that there are strong external factors inhibiting the change in enterprise operating mechanisms. If we want to make headway in solving the deep-seated problems, when we step up enterprise internal reform we must make improving enterprises' external operating conditions and in turn make changing the macroeconomic operating mechanisms an important policy direction for changing the

enterprise operating mechanisms. This, however, is exactly the weak link in past enterprise reforms.

To create good external conditions for furthering the enterprise reform, we should adopt various measures, including the following: Change the pricing mechanisms and price management methods and readjust the pattern of national income distribution to promote the modification of the industrial structure; promote lateral economic ties and develop enterprise groups to optimize enterprise organizational structure; perfect the market for key elements, root out regional separatism, and smooth out the circulation channels to establish a socialist unified market; promote reform of the unemployment, health-care, and pension systems to perfect the social protection system; implement organizational reform, change the government's economic management functions, and set up an appropriate system of laws and regulations to improve the method of macro regulation and control and manage enterprise activities and other economic activities according to the law. Of the above measures, the most important is to improve the method of macroeconomic management. China's economic system is clearly dependent on state administration and management. Enterprises basically rely on the state to create the economic conditions and market environment necessary for their survival and development. This situation is not unique to China. Many less advanced nations face the same situation when they undergo industrialization. The only difference is in the methods of government intervention. To meet the goals of restructuring of the economic system, Chinese Government departments must change their management functions and methods of regulation and control over the national economy and enterprise operating activities. In particular: 1) Instead of taking on everything macro and micro and big and small, they should focus on controlling and regulating the macroeconomic volume and develop some effective mechanisms to maintain overall equilibrium. Thereupon they can lift control at the microeconomic level and give full play to the market's regulatory role. 2) Instead of direct allocation of resources, they should rely mainly on formulating industrial policies, technological transformation policies, and regional development plans and use economic measures and legal means and supplementing them with necessary administrative measures to guide the optimal allocation of resources. 3) Instead of directly intervening in the industrial and commercial enterprises' economic activities, they should emphasize controlling the assets, and at the same time they should adopt effective measures to perfect the market system and the market mechanisms, strengthen supervision and management, and create the mechanisms to promote fair competition.

Changing the government's functions does not imply weakening or abandoning its macroeconomic management authority and responsibility. On the contrary, only by changing its functions and really controlling what must be controlled and decontrolling what should be decontrolled can we develop the strong and effective

macroeconomic management system and regulation and control mechanisms that are compatible with the development of the planned commodity economy, and only then can we give play to both planning and the market's positive roles in regulating the economy and guarantee the national economy's sustained, steady, and smooth development. And only then will enterprises turn toward the market in this kind of economic environment and continue to develop and grow as the superior eliminate the inferior.

#### V. The Process and the Main Formats for Changing Enterprise Operating Mechanisms

Today China is in the midst of an important historical period marked by the transition from the old to the new system. The defects of the old system and the weaknesses of the new system make many conflicts and confrontations inevitable during this transition period. This mandates that the development of the new system can only be a gradual process. In this process, the new system will generate different transitional molds at different stages, and each transitional mold will appear in different forms in different places. Enterprise operating mechanisms may have their own relatively independent forms of existence and operation, but no matter if we look at their social attributes or economic attributes, they are always constrained by the economic mechanisms of the socialist economic system and as a whole they must follow the latter's standards and orbit. For this reason, on the whole, changing the enterprise operating mechanisms must be synchronized with the transition from the old to the new economic system; it must not get ahead of nor lag behind that process. Thus some of the characteristics and laws in China's transition between the two systems also apply to the change in enterprise operating mechanisms: First, changing the enterprise operating mechanisms is a gradual process that follows a predetermined goal. Second, in this process, enterprise operating mechanisms will evolve into a series of different transitional molds. Third, the formats used to change enterprise operating mechanism in a specific period are very different in different regions and for different enterprises, because China is a vast country with uneven levels of economic development; its enterprises' industrial characteristics, technological state, worker quality, and management standards vary significantly, and in the last decade or so, although its enterprise and other reforms have generally made progress, the degree of opening up, the progress in restructuring the systems, the rate of market development differ greatly among different regions, and on top of that, there are economic and cultural and other traditional differences, and so there are great disparities in the actual progress of enterprise reform. Fourth, for an individual enterprise, no matter which format is chosen, it should be one that approaches the ideal mold. It should suit the original system but also go beyond the original system and come close to the ideal mold. In a certain sense, the latter characteristic is more important, because it directly fulfills the goal of

"change." Only in this way can we guarantee that enterprises as a group can continue to forge ahead toward our goal while the operating mechanisms are being changed.

Today efforts to change the enterprise operating mechanisms are making different degrees of progress in different regions: Guangdong and the Zhujiang Delta region are more open; their markets are better developed, and their enterprise reform had an early start and has produced clear results. Thus the format they choose in changing the operating mechanisms should be even closer to the target mold. Enterprise reform has made rapid progress in Shanghai, Changjiang Delta, and eastern China in recent years. In particular, the development of Pudong and its impact on surrounding areas have ushered in a new phase to their enterprise reform. These regions should choose a format which is fairly close to the target mold. The northwestern and southwestern regions are China's main producing areas of raw materials and energy. They are deeply influenced by the traditional planned system and their markets are underdeveloped. Their enterprise reform had a late start and so they should adopt a more steady mold in promoting the change in mechanisms and must not rush things. Northern and northeastern China are regions with the highest concentration of large- and medium-sized enterprises. In recent years, they have undergone fairly rapid economic development, but compared to the Zhujiang and Changjiang Deltas, there is still a wide gap. The progress of enterprise reform has been uneven—some localities have made rapid progress while others have lagged behind; some localities saw some development at first but have experienced relapses. Thus this region should adopt different formats for different localities. In changing the enterprise operating mechanisms, we must consider the locality, the time, and the enterprise; deal with each case individually, and provide different types of advice. We cannot use the same measure indiscriminately for all situations.

In changing enterprise operating mechanisms, no matter which format we choose, we must focus on smoothing out the property rights relations, separate the functions of government and enterprises and delineate ownership and management rights, orient enterprises toward the market, and make enterprises responsible for their own profits and losses by allowing them to make their own management decisions.

Overall, the change in China's enterprise operating mechanisms will go through a process marked by the existence and development of many different transitional formats alongside one another. It will be a process whereby enterprise reforms will forge ahead in all regions in a staggered but orderly pattern. It will help accelerate the change in enterprise operating mechanisms if we take advantage of this pattern and its evolutionary momentum and give expression to it when we formulate our policies.

Based on the practical experiences of the different regions as they implement enterprise reforms, and taking

into consideration the proper unification of universal application and progressive development in actual maneuvering, it is our opinion that when we design and determine the format for changing enterprise operating mechanisms, it is most important that we further perfect the contract management responsibility system, have a specific goal when we improve the actual process of separating tax and profit, and steadily promote the shareholding system.

1. We should further improve the contract management responsibility system. The contract management responsibility is currently the most popular form of public ownership system among China's enterprises. It is characterized by the separation of management and ownership rights and has profit allocation at its core. It uses the form of a contract to affix the responsibilities, rights, and privileges of the state and enterprises; it is simple to manipulate and easy to carry out. It comes in many forms and is highly adaptable. Regardless of whether enterprises are making a profit or losing money and regardless of their trade characteristics, their technological standards, and their sizes, all enterprises can adopt the system. In addition, the contract system can accommodate both the old and the new systems. It has an elementary format but also an advanced format. It is exactly because of all these that despite its defects, the contract system should and must continue to exist and develop. The key lies in perfecting the system, amplifying its merits, and avoiding its flaws. There are many measures we can adopt. For example, we can strengthen enterprise internal management, readjust the contract base properly, and extend the contract period. But in our opinion, if we look at the deeper meaning of changing enterprise operating mechanisms and make that our starting point, the following two points are more important: We should make the contracts richer in content. First, we should generally set higher quotas for preserving and increasing the value of state assets and for the other reserve quotas and make them a more prominent part of the quota system. At the same time, we should adopt strict evaluation methods. Not only should we assess the incremental asset value but also enterprises' volume of debt and how well the state's industrial policies are being carried out. We should also tighten the auditing of the stock of enterprise assets and use rigid budget restraints to prevent enterprises from reporting profits when they are actually losing money, so as to overcome their short-sighted behavior. Upon accomplishing that, we can gradually create the conditions to set up a system of enterprise board of directors or board of supervisors, mold the enterprise property rights' personality, and perfect the enterprise owners' functions.

2. We should readjust and perfect the contract formats so that they help create the mechanisms for enterprises to engage in fair competition. In qualified localities, we should promote the system of industry-based profit-to-fixed-asset-ratio-differential contract. That is, we should set an average profit to fixed asset ratio for each industry and thereupon convert enterprises' contract

profit into a differential between an enterprise's ratio and the average ratio for the industry, changing the profit-based contract into a profit-to-fixed-asset-ratio-based contract. This format will help create the mechanisms for fair competition, allow the superior to eliminate the inferior, and will help overcome enterprises' tendency to haggle over the contract base if external conditions should change during the contract period, and it also facilitates the separation of government and enterprises.

Whether enterprises practicing the contract system can progress from the elementary level to the advanced level amid the change in enterprise operating mechanisms depends mainly on whether the above two reform measures can bring gradual maturity to enterprises' asset management mechanisms and competitive mechanisms. A breakthrough in either one of these two areas will help make a fundamental change in the enterprise operating mechanisms.

3. We should improve the method of separating taxes from profits. The separation of taxes from profits in essence is superior to the contract system. Or we should say that it is an improved form of the contract system. But for different reasons, primarily because of enterprises' inability to withstand the change, this format has not been put to general practice. We should adopt measures to help enterprises in the pilot project solve their current problems. Primarily, we should adjust and reduce by a suitable amount the percentage of after-tax debt payment, exempt part of enterprises' financial obligation to the higher levels, increase by a reasonable amount the source of enterprises' own funds for technological transformation, and set a reasonable after-tax contract base, so that we can enhance enterprises' ability to withstand the consequences of the separation of profits from taxes and give full play to the system's positive role in changing enterprises operating mechanisms. It should be pointed out that the main purpose of separating taxes from profits is to separate the social functions of taxation and profit. Thus in essence this is not a form of enterprise reform in the classical sense. In the long-run, regardless of which enterprise reform format we adopt, we must separate taxes from profits.

For now, we can select some better qualified, stronger, and better managed large enterprises or enterprise groups and directly experiment with setting up some wholly state-owned limited liability companies. The state-designated representatives of the owner may set up a board of directors or board of supervisors to determine the quotas by which enterprises should preserve or propagate the value of state-owned assets and the rate of investment return. The board of directors should hire an enterprise operator (manager) and assess how well the products are being managed. Through these experimental limited liability companies, we can find the correct way to handle the relationship between the final ownership rights in enterprise properties and the ownership rights and management rights of the legal persons. We can explore the proper method of delimiting the

powers of the state-owned property management departments, enterprise board of directors (board of supervisors), and enterprise managers and their respective style of work, and we can popularize the system after we have gained some experience.

4. We should steadily promote the shareholding system. The shareholding system is an enterprise organizational format that has developed in response to the needs of socialized great production. It has no particular class attribute of its own. Thus, whether enterprises should adopt the shareholding system has little to do with the nature of their ownership system. The shareholding system may have its origin in the capitalist societies, but what determines the nature of capitalist production is that the means of production are owned by the capitalist and the surplus value belongs to the capitalist. It has nothing to do with the shareholding system as an enterprise organizational form.

Since reform and opening up, and with the deepening of enterprise reform and increased socialization of production, some of China's enterprises have adopted the shareholding system on a trial basis and have had some preliminary success. The shareholding system has played a positive role in promoting China's restructuring of the economic system and the change in enterprise operating mechanisms.

Although the shareholding system should be adopted is not determined by the nature of our social system, our social system does have a direct impact on what kind of shareholding system we can adopt and how we can promote it. China is a developing socialist nation. We are implementing a policy of reform and opening up, and currently we are at a transition stage between the old and the new systems at the macro and at the micro levels. Thus the shareholding system we adopt must facilitate the change in enterprise operating mechanisms and invigorate enterprises; it must facilitate the development of an economic system and functional mechanisms that integrate the planned economy and market regulations; it must facilitate the reinforcement and development of the socialist system. The basic function of the shareholding system is to raise capital. But the reason China promotes the shareholding system is not just to raise capital, but more important it is to use the shareholding mechanisms to define enterprise property rights, strengthen capital constraints, promote the normal circulation and reasonable allocation of resources, accelerate the change in enterprise operating mechanisms, and promote the development of the socialist productive forces. What China practices is a planned commodity economy. The state should run the large mainstay enterprises that have an impact on the national economy and the people's livelihood, and it should run some non-profit, public welfare-type enterprises and some special trades. Other than that, and with the exception of the many small enterprises, the majority of the other competitive large- and medium-sized enterprises should adopt the shareholding format. In China, the shareholding enterprises should be in the form of limited

liability companies with public legal persons as their primary investors or corporations with public legal persons as their primary shareholders. The stock market is essential for guaranteeing the shareholding enterprises' fund gathering activities. But in order to guarantee the overall return in utilizing state funds and prevent the decentralization of the financial regulation and control measures, the main fund sources and fund-gathering channels should be controlled by the state banks or other state-owned nonbank financial institutions.

Because of the unique background of the development of the shareholding system in China and the constraints of other economic conditions and our lack of experience, China's existing shareholding enterprises are riddled with obvious flaws, such as tangled property relationships, unsound share-propagation mechanisms, and chaotic allocation relationships. These conditions must be remedied as soon as possible. At the same time, we must make overall plans and implement them region by region and step by step. Qualified enterprises should be turned into shareholding enterprises in stages and in batches and in a timely fashion. We must make every effort to perfect the way the shareholding economy works and improve all the surrounding conditions, including legislation of the shareholding companies, installation of securities exchange market, and promulgation of exchange regulations. We must sort out and amend the shareholding enterprises' tax system, accounting system, and allocation system, and set up a scientific shareholding company property assessment system. In addition, when enterprises convert or are about to convert to the shareholding system, they must make sure that their system links up with the former operating mechanisms to give play to the superiority of both formats and avoid their defects.

## Provincial

### Qinghai Secretary Urges Resources Exploitation

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[Article by Yin Kesheng (1438 0344 0581), secretary of Qinghai Provincial CPC Committee: "Exploit Resources, Shake Off Poverty, and Attain Prosperity"]

[Text] Qinghai is a province in which people of minority nationalities account for 42 percent of the total provincial population. In the past, Qinghai relied mainly on animal husbandry. With its single-product economy, Qinghai was slow in economic development, backward in modes of production, and low in level of productive forces. Over a long period in the past, its social development remained in an isolated and backward state. After the founding of New China, Qinghai developed greatly in all fields under the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee and with the strong support of the people across the country. Drastic changes have taken place in the province. However, as a result of some

historical reasons and the limitations of natural conditions, the general level of its economy remains at a rather low level. How to make full use of the good policies and opportunities of reform and opening to the outside world has become an important task for us to quicken the pace of shaking off poverty and gaining prosperity in the provincial economy and to change its backward state in a big way.

Can Qinghai change its backward state at a faster pace under the situation of reform and opening to the outside world? Our answer is "yes" and the most important thing is to further liberate our thinking, deepen reform, expand opening up, and do our work well and in a down-to-earth manner and proceeding from reality.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have realized, in summing up the experience and lessons of Qinghai's development and construction, that each locality has its advantages and limitations in economic development. For this reason, in formulating the strategies and policies for economic development, we must base ourselves on the comprehensive analysis and correct understanding of our own objective local conditions. Only by proceeding from reality, displaying our advantages, and avoiding our disadvantages, can we grasp the key to the issue and find solutions to problems. Qinghai can be said to be both "poor" and "rich". Because of historical reasons and the limitations in natural conditions, Qinghai lacks adequate and fully-developed groups of industrial enterprises, is weak in accumulation, and, therefore, is slow in economic development. Its major economic indexes, such as per capita total output value, per capita income, local financial revenue, and per capita peasants' income, are all below the average national level with a tendency to fall further behind the eastern areas. On the other hand, Qinghai is rich in natural resources. As the source of the Huang He and Chang Jiang, Qinghai has many rivers with high waterfalls and is rich in water resources with excellent conditions for exploitation. It is estimated that hydropower stations with a capacity of over 500 kilowatts can be built in 172 locations for a total possible installed capacity of 17.98 million kilowatts with an annual generating capacity of 77.2 billion kilowatt hours. Qinghai is rich in mineral resources. Of the 109 different kinds of mineral reserves found, 84 are proved reserves. Ten of the mineral reserves rank first in the country in terms of quantity and 12 rank second or third. Known as "the treasure bowl" both at home and abroad, the Qaidam Basin has the largest salt lake in the world. Its reserves of potassium chloride account for 97 percent of the national total. The reserves of sodium chloride and magnesium chloride rank first in China and the quantities of reserves of other minerals are also considerable. Qinghai abounds in oil and natural gas reserves. The proven reserves of oil and natural gas are about 0.2 billion tons and over 40 billion cubic meters respectively. The total potential value of its various mineral resources is calculated to be as high as 3,790 billion yuan. This shows that Qinghai is a strategic region waiting to

be exploited and developed and much can be accomplished in its economic development.

This distinctive feature of Qinghai also tells us that, in order to shake off poverty and gain prosperity and to make its economy prosperous, we must take reform and opening up as the propelling force, have a firm grasp of this principal contradiction with a new concept and vision, try bravely in every possible way to exploit the natural resources, and make efforts to find new ways for our purposes. Only by accelerating the exploitation of natural resources and improving the efficiency of such exploitation can we gradually transform our advantages of resources into economic advantages, produce enormous material wealth, and change the passive situation of "begging for food with a golden bowl." With large-scale exploitation of resources, we can change potential resources into real productive forces and make Qinghai rich much faster. On this basis, we can build a number of small industrial and mining towns, cultivate new economic "growth points" for the minority nationality region and, with the technical and product diffusion from some large backbone enterprises, increase the influence of modern economy and civilization and train a contingent of minority nationality cadres, staff members, and workers, to promote the social progress of the minority nationality region.

The acceleration of resources exploitation also conforms with the overall national economic development strategic plan. It is conducive to promoting steady and coordinated development of the national economy which, for a long period of time, has been restricted by weak basic industries, such as energy and important raw materials, as well as by the unbalanced industrial structure. Without solving this problem, we will not be able to ensure a steady and coordinated development of the national economy. Exploiting the rich natural resources in the West as quickly as possible and in accordance with the strategic plan for the development of the national economy, and accelerating the development of basic industries of energy and important materials can combine Qinghai's advantages in resources with the nation's foci of development. This can simultaneously achieve the two goals of developing Qinghai and promoting the national economy as a whole.

After a construction period of four decades, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Qinghai has made important progress in both resource exploitation and economic development, thus laying a good foundation for further exploitation of its resources. First, a number of major projects were completed and put into operation with the help of the state, thereby initiating large-scale exploitation of Qinghai's resources. During the Sixth and Seventh Five-Year Plans, the state invested 7.53 billion yuan in Qinghai's key construction projects, equivalent to 89.2 percent of the total fixed assets investment in the province during the previous three decades. This investment was mainly used in the exploitation of resources such as the salt lake, hydropower, oil, natural gas, and

nonferrous metals, providing necessary material conditions for the province to increase its economic strength, accelerate its resources exploitation, and promote the development of new industries. Second, with the rapid exploitation of natural resources, local industries have developed much more quickly and the industrial structure has markedly improved. The output value of the energy and raw material industries now accounts for 32.4 percent of the provincial gross industrial output value. Qinghai has initially formed its dominant industries with local characteristics that take advantage of local resources. They include salt chemicals, electricity, nonferrous metals, oil, and building materials. Third, the infrastructure for resources exploitation has been greatly improved. Qinghai now has its own communications and transportation network composed of highways, railroads, and airlines, and a complete post and telecommunications system with automatic direct dial telephone services linking Qinghai with other parts and China and the outside world. Instead of importing energy, Qinghai now exports energy. Fourth, the exploitation of natural resources has given impetus to development of the local economy and has noticeably accelerated the pace of shaking off poverty and gaining prosperity. In the period from 1980 to 1990, the province achieved the first strategic goal of doubling its gross output value. Qinghai's national income increased by 92 percent, the gross output value of industry and agriculture by 103 percent, and the local financial revenue by 340 percent. The people's living standards were also greatly improved. The per capita income for subsistence of urban dwellers increased from 606 yuan in 1984 to 1,199 yuan in 1990, while the per capita net income of the peasants and herdsmen increased from 164 yuan in 1980 to 560 yuan in 1990. In the province, about 94,600 households of poor peasants and herdsmen basically have enough food and clothing.

How, then, should we further exploit the natural resources and accelerate development of the economy? Viewed from years of experience in Qinghai, we must generally have a firm hold of the key link of resources exploitation and, through reform and opening up, bring every positive factor into play and focus our attention on properly handling the following three relationships:

First, we must correctly handle the relationship between state support and self-reliance and persist in the combination of state exploitation with local exploitation. The guidance and support of the state is an important guarantee for provincial resources exploitation. Being a minority nationality region, Qinghai is weak in accumulation and its development input is limited. Therefore, to accelerate the exploitation of resources we must rely on the state's policies in favor of the development of the vast northwest and policies for assisting poor areas. We must strengthen lateral economic cooperation with other provinces, municipalities, and regions, and state guidance and support. But, at the same time, we must know that the financial strength of the state is also limited, as is its financial

support for Qinghai. Therefore, we must also rely on our own efforts, rather than waiting for state investment and support from brotherly provinces or autonomous regions. This is a basic point in speeding up construction. It must be noted that, after four decades of construction, especially after the reform and opening up for more than 10 years, we have accumulated some economic strength and rich experience and have greatly increased our ability to rely on ourselves. So, while depending on state support and actively cooperating with other localities, we should rely on our own efforts and on the broad masses in our development and construction. As long as we keep forging ahead with perpetual struggle we will surely be able to speed up construction.

From our experience over the years, we see that major development carried out by the state and local development work hand in hand and supplement one another. Regarding large-scale projects with greater investment that cannot be carried out by the local government, as well as the exploitation of some important resources having a bearing on the the national economy and the people's livelihood, we should mainly rely on state investment. As to small and medium projects, we should rely on our own efforts because they are large in number and spread over a vast area, require less investment, and promise quick economic returns. They are supplementary to large industry and much can be accomplished by carrying out such projects. Naturally, sometimes there are conflicts between state key construction projects and local projects. This is mainly found in the initial construction stage of a state key project or shortly after the project is put into operation when local benefits from tax revenue and products, etc. are not quite so obvious, while subsidies for rice, edible oil, meat, and vegetables for staff members and workers, as well as other services, increase the burden for local finance. In addition, some local governments or enterprises may, on account of their own interests, compete with state projects for investment and resources. This demands that we should take the overall interest into account and place state interest as first priority by handling correctly the relationship between state interest and local interests. We should constantly strengthen ideological education among our cadres and masses and help them establish the concept that resources should serve the entire nation. They should realize that major state projects are the main force in resources exploitation, play an important role in promoting the development of the local economy, and that we should support and act in close coordination with the state in its key construction projects. At the same time, we must have unified planning and take effective measures to ensure that priority is given to the various requirements of key state construction projects. We should not only ensure a balance in the supply of water, electricity, and transportation for exploitation projects, but also adopt policies for the rational distribution of such important strategic resources as hydropower, oil, and the salt lake. We should divide the development areas into different levels according to their respective importance and form a relatively

rational development layout. In order to help state construction projects solve problems, we have established special organizations, in which leading cadres from the provincial CPC Committee and government can give timely coordination and assistance. We have also given such projects preferential treatment and support in terms of acquisition of land, materials supply, recruitment of workers, and scale of investment. In the meantime, we should, in light of actual local needs, bring into full play the backbone role of key state construction projects, as well as their expansion effect, to carry out small exploitation projects complementary to key state construction projects. These small exploitation projects can be carried out with less difficulty, need less investment, provide jobs for surplus laborers, and give impetus to the industrialization levels of counties and prefectures. There are now in the province 136 such locally-administered state mining enterprises, 252 collective-run mining enterprises, 69 mining enterprises jointly run by individuals, and about 45,000 workers employed in enterprises. The total mining output value in 1990 reached 700 million yuan.

Second, we must correctly handle the relationship between immediate and long-term interests and persist in the combining of resource exploitation with resource preservation. Mineral deposits are limited and usually cannot be regenerated. The more we exploit, the less there will be left. Therefore, we should cherish and protect these valuable resources rather than cause them to be wasted or destroyed for the sake of immediate, partial, and short-term interests at the expense of long-term and overall interests. While exploiting resources, we should always put protection of resources in an important place, try our best to slow down the pace of their depletion, increase the extent of comprehensive utilization, and do a better job in protecting the environment. To this end, we should redouble our efforts in basic work, such as geological prospecting, planning, design, scientific research, production experiments, and tackling technological problems. We should adopt the system of technoeconomic study, resource recovery, and supervising the development of resources, and see to it that no exploitation is carried out where reserves are unclear, where conditions are immature, and where waste and damage are serious. On the other hand, in view of the fact that there are more intergrowth mineral reserves in the province and mines are scattered over a wide-ranging area, we energetically encourage joint-mining, appropriate scale of management, high technical starting-point for the development, processing, and utilization of resources, and the use of as much advanced technology and equipment as possible in order to yield greater economic benefits.

Third, we must correctly handle the relationship between the leading industries and the basic industries and persist in the combination of developing resource-oriented industries with consolidating the economic basis of agriculture and animal husbandry. Resources development is the leading industry, which not only

plays the role of guiding and promoting the provincial economic development, and the optimizing of industrial structure, but also serves as an important source of funds accumulation. On the other hand, agriculture and animal husbandry are the basis of the national economy and a guarantee to the development of the leading industry. The leading and basic industries are closely related, conditioning and promoting one another. Neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other.

In view of our resources advantage, the state industrial policies, and market demand, we believe that the leading industries in Qinghai should be the energy industry, with the electric power industry as the mainstay, and the salt chemical industry as the main component of the raw materials industry. The development of these industries can not only give spur the transformation of traditional industries but also help optimize the industrial structure and improve macroeconomic efficiency.

Because Qinghai is relatively simple in industrial structure and weak in both agriculture and animal husbandry, we must, therefore, make real efforts to consolidate this economic base of agriculture and animal husbandry while doing a better job in resources development. Over these few years, we have adopted a series of policies and measures to gradually increase input in agriculture and animal husbandry in order to guarantee a constant improvement of their production conditions. We have also persisted in the combination of range with intensity in our efforts to raise the comprehensive production level of agriculture and animal husbandry. We put the stress on water conservation work, construction of farmland and grasslands, and transformation of low- and medium-yield fields. We have used education and science to boost agriculture, improved the traditional backward modes of production, increased our ability to resist natural disasters, brought about bumper agriculture harvests in five successive years and a high output in animal husbandry for 10 years running. We have worked hard to improve the internal structure of agriculture and animal husbandry, promote the common development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, industry, commerce, and side-line occupations, and systematically put agriculture and animal husbandry on a benign circle of development.

The exploitation of resources is a long process and should be carried out systematically and in a planned way to guarantee the steady and coordinated development of the social economy. In particular, with the development and expansion of reform and opening up, some contradictions in the management system, the distribution of interests, the marketing channels, the personnel system, and price system, are bound to emerge. These problems will surely find expression in the work of resources exploitation. If they are not properly solved, they may affect the entire economic work. Therefore, we must persistently carry out reform and opening to the outside world, proceed from actual conditions, and have good planning for resources exploitation. In the first stage, we should concentrate our attention mainly on the development of the primary

mineral reserves and primary products to meet the demand of both domestic and foreign markets; accumulation of funds in development; improvement of the quality of our workers; and on laying a solid foundation for the comprehensive development of our resources and the progress of economic and social development. In the second stage, in accordance with demand and possibility, we should, by gradually combining developing valorization with processing valorization, establish a number of

resources-oriented processing enterprises, produce an appropriate amount of intermediate products, improve efficiency of exploitation, and enhance economic strength. In the third stage, on the foundation of a considerable scale of development, we may launch comprehensive development and utilization, adopt advanced and new technologies, and produce serialized products with the development of refined and intensive processing, to bring about all-round development and make our economy soar.

**Article Sees Negative Trends in Historiography**

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[Article by Ge Chengyong (5514 2110 7167) and Ren Dayuan (0117 1129 2266) of the Department of History and Chinese Ideology and Culture Research Institute, Northwest University: "Personal Views on Historiographical Research by Contemporary Historians"]

[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there has appeared in our country's historiographical circle a group of new persons full of youthful vigor, and the number and range of influence of their research results have attracted great attention. This, it must be said, is a manifestation of the fact that there are worthy successors in and a thriving development of the historiographical circles. Among these persons, there are those who have sharp minds and have developed new concepts and there are those who work hard and solidly and hold original views. However, there are also some who have been overanxious for results and have veered off on byways, producing different styles of study and writing, and articles of varying levels of academic value.

**I**

The most valuable aspect of these new historians who have gone all out to realize achievements is that they do not blindly follow the existing authorities and do not get stuck in accepted theories or formulations. Rather, with the inheritance of the achievements of those who have gone before and the guidance of the older generation of scholars, they dare to put forward new ideas and dare to break taboos in the academic sphere. Thus, they have played a definite role in enlightening people and in pioneering new ideas. Their most outstanding characteristics are that they take the lead, they are pioneering, they are contemporary, and they are worldly.

Their characteristic in taking the lead is mainly manifested in the new historians having the sharpness of youth. They have a strong awareness toward seeking the new. The result is that their research achievements enliven people's ideas and enable the people to understand the history of reform and opening up.

The pioneering characteristic refers to the very few taboos that these young historiographical workers have in their cognition and research. They are good at bringing in new blood, in opening up new fields, and using new methods so research results are comprehensive. Thus, they play a special role in opening up the people's field of vision.

Their contemporary nature means that young historiographical researchers are good at developing historical research related to major contemporary social questions, that is, they look at the past as a means of dealing with the present. They see research on contemporary history

as the locomotive that will pull all historiography into a new stage, and they take current social needs as their duty.

Their worldly nature means that young historiographical workers, when compared with foreigners, stress more than most scholars, research that views history from a world scope. They actively use as reference and absorb beneficial aspects of foreign culture and have produced the latest research results through comparison and analysis. This is beneficial in opening up the people's lines of thought.

These characteristics mean that young historiographical workers are playing a major role in breaking down traditional historiographical models. They not only think broadly, but seriously reflect on the problems that existed in historical research in the past. They have thus brought historical research into a new period of thriving development in which one hundred flowers bloom and one hundred schools of thought contend. Although in historical research there are still some situations that are not ideal, it should be truthfully affirmed that the discipline is now more vigorous than it has been at any time since the founding of the PRC, and it can be said that the achievements are indeed splendid.

First, new vigor has been injected into historical research. China's historiography has seen, since the beginning of reform and opening up, a great expansion in research fields, and young historians are a vital new force in the historiographical sphere. Their explorations of historiographical ontology, epistemology, and methodology all have fresh characteristics of the times. Faced with a vast number of new concepts such as cybernetics, systems theory, information theory, dissipative structures, behavioral sciences, and structuralism, and although there has unavoidably appeared situations analogous to a hungry person not being able to be choosy about food, some persons have adopted concepts but have been unable to absorb them, to a certain degree these concepts have enlightened people's thought, and with the foremost experimentation and exploration by young historiographical workers, historiographical methods have begun to move towards diversification, systematization, and comprehensiveness. This has in turn led to new developments in the building of theories in historical science.

Second, people have been awakened to the need to reflect on historiography itself. As far as the young historiographical workers who have engaged in exploration are concerned, they have put forward the question of the "crisis of historiography." This not only reflects their sense of urgency toward change in historiography, but also reflects their ardent hopes that historiography will strengthen its links with the present reality. Of course, there is not a uniform opinion in historiographical circles on "the crisis of historiography." However, a sense of crisis indicates dissatisfaction with the current situation. This is the starting point in the demand for change in historical research and historical methods.

Historiography is a basic discipline in the humanities, but it cannot, unlike the applied sciences, provide direct proof of itself in the current undertakings of reform and construction. However, it needs to be rooted in the soil of contemporary reality to provide society with the spiritual food necessary to encourage people to ponder and reflect on practical questions faced in contemporary times. Only in this way will historiography be able to have social value and real vigor. Proceeding from this motivation, young historiographical workers have put forward criticisms of the current situation and the traditions of historiography, and have put forward opinions and ideas for the future development of historiography. These criticisms and ideas all assist in ensuring that historiographical research increasingly accords with social needs and develops towards broader research fields and higher scientific levels.

Third, the continued deepening of research into the current situation has been promoted. The aim of studying history is, in the end, so that we can understand the present and orient towards the future. This is what is meant by "examining the past to know the present" and "looking at the past to know the future." Proceeding from this idea, many young historiographical workers have switched from purely studying traditional areas such as political history and economic history to more comprehensive fields of research including religious history, cultural history, commercial history, and legal history. They have left behind that old concept of "history for history's sake," and dared to face research topics which current society has put forward to us. Standing on the high plane of contemporary times, they have realized a shift in their research focus and they hope to be able to reveal, in a more profound and overall way than persons in the past, the essential processes of historical development. Even some traditional research fields have appropriately readjusted their topics of research following changes over time and the needs of development. For example, some young scholars have, proceeding from the angle of cultural history, demonstrated that the reason the Chinese nation and Chinese culture have been able to independently develop for several thousand years is because they are ready to accept and good at absorbing foreign cultural achievements. This naturally is of assistance in increasing people's understanding of the profound significance of opening up to the outside world.

Fourth, in specific research fields, the achievements in recent years have been quite pleasing. First, the traditions of the former generations of historians have been inherited and through the use of textual research and textual criticism and the traditional methods of sorting out and organizing materials, rich achievements have been realized in dynastic history, archaeology, cultural relics management, the sorting out and organization of classical texts and in specialized history topics. Second, many new methods and means have been brought in and full attention has been paid to the interrelationships among history and other sciences such as philosophy,

economics, sociology, anthropology, ethnography and psychology. There have thus been horizontal comparisons and three-dimensional examinations and in areas such as cultural history, legal history, financial history, urban history and regional history, beneficial experiments have been made. At the same time, many young historiographical workers, while as paying attention to the perfection of their own intellectual structures, have also put great stress on eliminating the dross from traditional historiography and, with a materialist view of history as their guide, have broken through the traditional concept of "trusting and revering the past."

## II

Because they lack experience, these young people who are full of social vigor and academic vitality do have unavoidable weak points. Of course, following the accumulation of social experiences and the deepening of academic research, they will have the opportunity to gradually eliminate and overcome these weak points. However, the mistakes, deviations, and various shortcomings that exist in the academic research of some young historiographical workers must be pointed out, otherwise, these problems will affect the speedy development of these new historians, and will weaken the unique value of young people's historical research.

One of these mistakes and deviations is vulgar "fashion following," simple "pursuit of hot topics" and indiscriminate opposition to all traditions. In the social sciences sphere in recent years there has continuously appeared "hot topics" ranging from abstract humanism, alienation, Sartre, Nietzsche, and Freud to the craze for subjectivity, the cultural craze, and so on. These have naturally affected and disturbed historiographical circles. Although some historiographical workers have engaged in research on some special topics in cultural history, religious history, ideological history, social history, folklore history, and ethnographic history, there are also some young historiographical workers who browse through materials, copying bits here and there, hurriedly trying to catch up with trends and keep up with the newest hot topic. Some, in order to demonstrate their "young genius," do not stress historical data, and instead like to go to extremes. They are fond of engaging in so-called "excessive viewpoints" to negate all "traditional authority" which is not in accord with their own viewpoints. Actually, if these things are not just the passing off of others' ideas as one's own or following in others' footsteps, then they are indiscriminate copying without absorbing the contents. They can only go around and around in circles on a few superficial questions and this will result in the academic circles being disappointed and having doubts about the changes that are occurring in the historiography being led by young people.

Another of the mistakes and deviations is the impulsive study style. Because of the rigid and contained situation in the past, as soon as the great doors to the world were opened, people were anxious to follow the "current" and become a "new person," and there were desperate efforts

to seek the new, the strange and the weird. In order to reduce the disparities between themselves and the older generation of historians, they hoped to find a shortcut to success. They were unwilling to put efforts into raising their academic quality, they put insufficient real effort into textual research, and their speculative capabilities in terms of theory were insufficient. Yet, they were anxious to produce "results." This impulsive study style must inevitably produce mediocre work, while the successive production of mediocre work will inevitably intensify the impulsive study style.

A third of the mistakes and deviations is a writing style that is ornate but without substance. For example, with respect to some serious topics, some people do not do earnest, serious, and long-term concentrated research, and do not concern themselves with whether or not the theoretical structure, method of proof, or data used are dependable. And yet, they still write voluminous "great works" of several hundred thousand characters. As a result, there are all sorts of flaws and inconsistencies, major errors are to be found throughout the works, and it is difficult to avoid a situation where specialized study is relegated to a purely superimposed framework. They even turn some scientific theories into fashionable embellishments. This results in the prestige of academic research and serious exploration being harmed, and there is no way, in the light of new methods, to eliminate the dross and preserve the essence, and to remove the old and bring forth the new. Therefore, people do not focus their historical research on the exploration of the questions themselves but concern themselves with squabbling over terms and concepts and explaining the uses and functions of new methods. This undoubtedly limits and fetters the deepening of research in historiography. Even some small series of booklets widely used in education in patriotism are compiled mechanically with no concern for historical facts. Some of these booklets have dozens of mistakes, and the rough compilation and editing produce wide-ranging and adverse effects. More seriously, some of the works that are published now often include many viewpoints and expositions from other works, but they do not acknowledge the source in footnotes or in the text. This is very improper. There are also many instances of dishing up old things in a new form, and all sorts of plagiarism. The result is that many of the books published just imitate and parrot each others' views. Not only do they not have the vigor to achieve breakthroughs, but they are harmful to scientific development. This should be the subject of great vigilance by circles of young historians.

In the historical research by young historiographical workers, why are there the biases noted above? The reasons are diverse. One reason worthy of attention is that for some years now, Marxist theory has been diluted. Some young historiographical workers lack training in theoretical thinking using materialist dialectics and thus lack the capacity to distinguish idealism and metaphysics. According to the Marxist viewpoint, historiography should be a science and thus a basic

requirement for historiographical workers is a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. A small number of young scholars do not have a good capacity for distinguishing between things and they lack a scientific attitude. This results in them becoming sidetracked. We should draw a lesson from this. Of course, the Marxism we stress is not just a label. A hundred years ago, Engels made the criticism: "In any case, for many young German writers, the term 'materialist' is just a formula. They use this formula as a label and stick on it all sorts of things, without doing any further research. That is to say, once they have stuck the label on, they think that the problem has already been solved." ("Letter to K. Schmidt" in *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 37, p 432) Engels further pointed out: "Marx's overall world view is not dogma, but a method. What it provides is not a ready-made doctrine, but a point of departure for further research and the method to be used in this research." ("Letter to W. Sang-ba-te" in *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 39, p 406) These views of Engels' later years should be deeply reflected on by today's young historiographical workers.

### III

Only if society pays attention to its youth can the vigor of the youth be called forth, and can the national spirit be inspired. Only if historiographical circles pay attention to young historiographical workers will they be able to ensure that historiographical research is ever new, and will they be able to fully bring into play the special role of historical science in the present society. In paying attention to the new historiographers, the most important thing is to respect and encourage their pioneering spirit. As Mao Zedong said, it is young people who have the least conservative ideas and the most pioneering spirit. The prosperity and development of historical research requires pioneering by the new historiographers. There is no doubt about this. Thus, we must gradually create a major environment and the minor conditions conducive to having young historiographical workers establish a fine scientific study style.

First, it is necessary to correct the bias of looking only at quantity and disregarding quality. The academic value and social function of historiography should, overall, be uniform. However, at specific levels of the historiographical structure and in the work of individual historiographical researchers, we cannot and should not require complete uniformity. For example, the basic research of gathering, checking, and verifying historical data and historical facts is necessary for historical research and is a guarantee for scientifically understanding history. Many of these results do not necessarily have major practical significance or a direct social function, but they are useful in improving historical understanding and in the historiographical cause itself. These aspects will require many more years of efforts. The practice of only stressing quantity and ignoring quality can lead to short-term activities where people are eager for immediate results. This will not only end up with historical research stagnating and not progressing, but will inevitably harm

the healthy development of young historiographical workers. In particular, with the pounding produced by the commodity economy and the pressure of obtaining a post, there is a need to be particularly vigilant against this situation. It is necessary to pay attention to the experiences of history. Prior to the Opium War, the textual criticism school dominated historical scholarship during the Qianlong and Jiaqing reigns. Some people of insight did not support the research orientation of the textual criticism school, proposed a practical use for history, and stressed the use of history in regulating the state. After the Opium War, modern historians were active in the overall task of saving the country, developing the people's knowledge, and molding a national spirit. However, because they one-sidedly stressed volume and did not pay attention to value, this affected the achievements realized. This historical situation should enlighten later generations, showing that no method that only stresses quantity and does not consider quality will have continuous vitality.

Second, we must correct the bad study style of "seeking short cuts" and "seeking the right knack." In the past, Hu Shi put forth the famous positivist slogan of "being brave in putting forth a hypothesis, but being very careful in seeking its proof" and was criticized by some progressive scholars. However, in recent times, some people in their research have even been uninterested in the latter aspect. They are full of the courage needed to be "brave in putting forth a hypothesis," but they are wanting in having to "be very careful in seeking its proof." Thus, they lack a good study style of seeking truth from facts. Some young historiographical workers are anxious to establish themselves as an authority, but are unwilling to put forward the efforts needed in arduous study, and they do not really do the work necessary to establish a name. Rather, in a hundred and one ways, they seek "short-cuts" or seek "the right knack." They do not devote themselves to developing the science and are unwilling to engage in arduous labor. Under the social influences of money worship, individualism and other unhealthy trends, they do as they wish and churn out a series of articles and books that cannot stand up to close scrutiny. There have thus appeared some motley and bizarre works. Either citations or notes are just copied from others, and errors and mistakes are repeated, or else judgements and assessments are made without any real understanding of the data, and there are all sorts of confused interpretations. If we are to correct these bad study styles, it is necessary to adopt a scientific, truth-seeking attitude, change the impulsive mentality in scientific research, and correct the unwillingness to stand loneliness and accept a low profile. In research by young historiographers, we must newly establish a conscientious and meticulous attitude toward study and a rigorous study style.

Third, we must put an end to works that pander to some immediate demand and are produced in a rough and haphazard manner. In recent years, publishing activities have been linked with the economic interests of publishing units. This has meant that some outstanding

historiographical works have not been published, while all sorts of "best sellers" have been produced. This has placed great pressure on the young researchers in historiographical circles, and this pressure has effectively served as a model, forcing a small number of writers to waste much effort in pandering to the psychological needs of some readers. Not only do they make a big fuss about the title of the book, but the contents are also preposterous. Their negative effects are greater than their positive effects on both stylistic and value grounds. Such books include many reference books and dictionaries and they truly offer nothing new. Many just involve "rehashing" and repackaging. Under the influence of this guidance that the publishing industry provides, it appears today that there are not many scholars like those of the older generation who "sat on cold benches for 10 years" or who spent several years or several decades studying an issue or writing a book. The young researchers themselves also feel that there is no way out and there are an increasing number of "hastily-written works" that were "made to order." If this situation continues, it will indeed have bad effects on the development of the new people in historiographical circles. In addition, whether in the next few years we will see the publication of any historical work which is in accord with our times and has social value and academic value is also a cause for concern. However, complaining is, in the end, of no use. Only if the young historical research workers are able to stand up to the battering of the waves of the commodity economy and have a spirit of solidly engaging in scholarship "sitting on a cold bench," will they be able to succeed in writing works which are worthy of the times and which will be passed down generation after generation.

Fourth, developing strict historiographical criticism is a major issue in promoting the healthy development of historical science and especially of young historiographical workers. In this respect, we still face an arduous task. Development and progress in historiographical research by young historiographical workers is in need of assistance from the older generation of historians and also requires mutual assistance among the various young historiographical workers themselves. Strict historiographical criticism is an effective avenue for developing this assistance. However, in recent years, historiographical review articles have not only been few in number but are also ineffective and low in quality. Only a small number have been precise and pertinent. Many have appeared to be almost advertisements for history books. Historiographical criticism by young historiographical workers should, like the young persons themselves, be rich in vigor and vitality. However, in the 10-some years since the beginning of reform and opening up, the development of historiographical criticism by young historiographical workers has clearly fallen far behind the degree necessary, given the number of works by young historiographical workers which have been published. This also reflects, from one angle, that the theoretical qualities of young historiographical workers need to be raised.

The aim of the few points raised above on carrying forward that which is the truth and rectifying errors is to try to ensure that historiographical research by young historiographical workers follows a correct path forward, to foster healthy and rational analyses and independent ideas among these new persons in historiographical circles, and to carry forward various outstanding aspects of the historical tradition, such as the spirit of innovation and progress, awareness of national cohesion, etc. At the same time, we should purify the atmosphere of academic research, so that the widespread styles of study and styles of writing are more realistic and truth-seeking. Only in this way will historical research by young historiographical workers in the last years of this century and early part of the next century be able to make the choices and contributions that are worthy both academically and practically.

If students want society to respect them, they first have to respect themselves. If historiographical circles want society to cherish their unique value, they first have to consciously struggle to create their own value. Young people's undertakings must rely on the young people themselves, and it has always been so. History has never bestowed favors on those who simply piously request favors. However, it is fond of pioneers who dare to grasp things. The development of history in China and abroad has proven this point. "In the forests, the new leaves replace the old, while in the water, the wave in front makes way for the wave behind." This is the pattern of development of history. Although most causes can be outdated by history, only the cause represented by youth always belongs to the future. The invigoration and take-off of any nation, the initiation and success of any undertaking, and the prosperity and development of any discipline of study needs youth, should attract youth, and should truly bring into play the role of the new force constituted by young people.

#### Article Describes Manifestations of Formalism

HK1508065592 Beijing QIUSHI in Chinese  
No 9, 1 May 92 pp 46-47

[Article by Gua Tian (3900 3944): "Various Forms of Formalism"]

[Text] Under the present situation, there has emerged many big events, new things, and difficult problems that demand painstaking effort, lots of time, and the full involvement of leading members at all levels. Even so, the result of their work may still not turn out satisfactorily. In the meanwhile, however, various kinds of activities such as ceremonies for ribbon cutting, cornerstone laying, first publication, first performance, commendation meetings, awards presentations, etc., are held one after another, requiring their presence with a couple or a dozen reasons, to be convincing of the importance of these activities. Since these activities are so "important," matters of genuine importance are consequently squeezed out of their schedule. A man's time is a fixed constant and his energy is limited. By getting involved in

too many routine affairs, one can not expect to have enough time to consider and study in depth and systematically matters of genuine importance. Moreover, television programs, radio broadcasts, and newspapers always carry long-winded reports about ordinary meetings and leaders' routine activities, taking up much of the valuable time of the cadres and broad masses, who often shake their heads with a bitter smile and an expression of helplessness. But this matter has at last aroused the concern of both the leaders and the masses. There is hope for a solution now.

As for formalism, we have never approved of it, never sung its praises, and, in fact, have been opposed to it all the time. Why then has it kept growing, reproducing, with its seeds spreading continuously, and is even tending to gain more and more momentum? The secret of this mystery lies in the fact that it is of great "benefit" to some people. As the writer of this article, I am going to list a few of its "advantages," probably overlooking a great many others.

First, formalism is the best means to create a clamorous and boisterous atmosphere. It has the knack of mobilizing as many people as it can to engage in trivial activities and make them feel busy in a false way. As a result, it helps cover up various kinds of contradictions and loopholes of one's unit or department as it creates the false impression that people working in the unit are vigorous and business is booming. It helps to coax one's superior into believing it and sometimes one can ask for an award because of such activities.

Second, formalism can give the fullest play to the mass media, which serves as a trumpet to announce the advent of the coming event; and the people concerned appear in newspapers, radio broadcasts, and television programs one after another. This can satisfy the vanity for fame of some cadres who have vulgar interests. It also makes them swell with a wonderful "feeling of being successful." To these people, such activities of formalism themselves seem equal to their "achievements."

Third, the practice of formalism saves one's energy, puts one in a secure position and offers a chance to make plenty of profit. It is a deal in which one needs to invest a little capital to get plenty of profit. Usually there are a set of formulas by which one practices formalism. One need not rack one's brains for ways, but simply follow the footsteps of others and one does what others do or increases the scale of what other people have done. By playing a trick, one can manage to do a marvelous job. In such a practice, one usually earns merits rather than demerits and wins rather than loses. Even if problems occur, those whom you follow are to be blamed, and what is more, the law does not blame the masses. So there is not much risk in the practice of formalism.

Fourth, the greatest "advantage" of formalism is that it can help a mediocre person cover up the fact that he is incompetent and lacks the ability to make any achievement. Enterprising cadres with the spirit of reform and

innovation have their minds filled with ideas on how to push forward their causes, having neither interest nor time to play with formalism. In addition, they often have to smash the trammels of the existing antiquated forms to develop the content and create new forms. Those who are not capable, not original in thinking, and not brave enough to make any advances are not in a position to open up a new prospect, and the only thing they can do is to drift along aimlessly, immersing themselves in the practice of formalism, which, in turn, does help them a lot. Why Mr. Nanguo of the Qi Dynasty could stay so long in the emperor's royal band with several hundred "yu" (an ancient musical instrument) players was precisely because he had found a way to cheat, that is, holding the "yu" and pretending to be blowing into it. After Emperor Xuan died, his son Emperor Min succeeded. He changed his father's policy and demanded that each player show his proficiency. As a result, the practice of "everybody eating from the same big pot" was abolished, the performance was "contracted" to the individual player, and each member of the band was asked to practice and play by himself. So, Mr. Nanguo had no choice but to make his escape. Enlightened by this, we have come to understand that, if we make a proper assessment of each cadre's work, formalism will have no place to hide.

In essence, formalism is a concrete manifestation of bureaucracy, one of the characteristics of which is to regard the "rice bowl" and "black gauze hat" [hat of an ancient Chinese official] as the most important things. For those who are incompetent and lack the courage to accomplish any great task, but, at the same time, are eager to maintain their positions, the best choice is, of course, to play with formalism. Therefore, it is no wonder that some people have a rigid way of thinking and a dilatory work style, stick to old ways, divorce themselves from the masses, dispute over trifles, issue numerous documents, and hold lots of meetings, and are satisfied with the role of "reception officer" or an "officer for incoming and outgoing mail," and pass their superior's instructions onto their inferiors.

What we oppose is only formalism; some forms of doing things are necessary and cannot be abolished without exception. Necessary documents should be issued, necessary meetings should be held, and necessary routine activities should also be carried out. This issue's key point is whether or not our main efforts and interests are devoted to the right things. We must make form serve content instead of interfering with the content. Now that we are all engaged in opposing formalism, this is a very good thing. But we also have to guard against opposing formalism with ways of formalism. If much is said or written to criticize formalism but there is no sign of any concrete measures, and formalism remains the same as before, isn't there much comedy in the matter itself?

### Literary, Art Workers Urged to Reform's Front Line

HK0708112692 Beijing *QIUSHI* in Chinese  
No 10, 16 May 92 pp 11-15

[Article by Li Xia (2621 0007): "Restudy Spirit of 'Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art'; Adhere to the Orientation of 'Serving the People and Socialism'"]

[Text] Fifty years have lapsed since the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art." Looking back over this half century, one has to say that it is almost impossible to accurately assess the historical merits of this classic Marxist thesis on literature and art. Practice is the criterion for testing truth. Today, after a half a century, the "Talks" still radiate with truth.

More than a century after the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the war of liberation to the period of socialist construction, the spirit of the "Talks" has nurtured generation after generation of writers and artists and produced a large number of outstanding literary and art works. These works have been of far-reaching influence and have enriched the treasure house of contemporary Chinese literature. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party further readjusted its policies toward literature and art and spelled out the orientation of serving the people and socialism as well as the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," thereby enabling the spirit of the "Talks" to be implemented more accurately and in greater depth. Over the past 10 years or so, our writers and artists have created many great masterpieces. These outstanding works have also been created under the guidance of the orientation charted by Comrade Mao Zedong for literature and art. Many writers and artists of the older generation were overcome with emotion every time they spoke of how they were nurtured by Mao Zedong's "Talks." For more than half a century since its publication, Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" has spread its influence to all corners of the world. Some of the incisive ideas contained in the "Talks" have become the common treasure of progressive writers the world over.

The "Talks" are rich in substance. On a general level, the tremendous impact produced by the spirit of the "Talks" goes far beyond the literary and art circles. However, from the perspective of the literature and art cause alone, the two major issues addressed in the "Talks" are: "who to serve?" and "how to serve?" On this occasion of the 50th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," it is a very meaningful gesture for us to conscientiously discuss the theory and practice of the orientation of literature and art.

Literature and art should serve the broad masses of the people. This is something consistently advocated by the authors of Marxist classics. As Marx and Engels pointed

out in the "Communist Manifesto": "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the independent movement of the vast majority, in the interests of the vast majority." (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 1, p 262) Socialist literature and art, as an important component of the activities of the proletariat and the broad masses in creating history, naturally are no exception. To this day, Engels' remarks in his letters to Kautsky and Ha-ke-nai-si [0761 0344 1143 2448] still have widespread and profound significance. (see *Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on Literature and Art*, pp 128, 134, People's Literature Publishing House, 1980) Lenin pointed out in "Party Organization and Party Literature" that proletarian literature "serves not ladies who eat three square meals a day, or the scores of thousands from the upper crust" who are bored stiff and worried about their obesity, but the thousands upon thousands of working people, who are the cream, the strength, and the future of the state." (*Selected Works of Lenin*, Vol 1, p 650) In the 1940's, Comrade Mao Zedong further unequivocally pointed out at Yan'an: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, primarily the workers, peasants, and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants, and soldiers and are for their use." (*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Second Edition, Vol 3, p 863) From the above brief outline, it is not difficult to see that the authors of Marxist classics have always emphasized the need to serve the broad masses on the question of whom our literature and art should serve. Our unequivocal call today, that "literature and art should serve the people," is thus a clear-cut embodiment of this Marxist idea and is in conformity with historical logic.

Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the principle that "all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and primarily for the workers, peasants, and soldiers." Today's call that "literature and art must serve the people" is a continuation of this principle. However, in the concrete process of practice over the last half century some twists and turns have appeared. The "Talks" charted the orientation for the development of literature and art at that time. Subsequently there emerged a large number of outstanding works created for the workers, peasants, and soldiers. The connotation of the concept of "the masses" expanded noticeably with the development of the political and economic situation in society and in the wake of changes in class relations after the socialist transformation in China. In the spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks," literature and art should duly expand the scope of the people it served. Contrary to this, "leftist" ideas narrowed the scope. On the eve of the Cultural Revolution, the principle that literature and art must "serve the people" even came under attack as a "revisionist idea" of "a literature and art of the whole people." It was thus not surprising to find the garden of socialist literature and art turning into a desolate scene. When the new historical period began, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed at the Fourth Congress of Chinese

Writers and Artists the orientation that "literature and art must serve the broadest masses, primarily workers, peasants, and soldiers."

One also needs to trace the course of development of the idea that "literature and art must serve proletarian politics" to "literature and art must serve socialism." Comrade Mao Zedong said in the "Talks" that literature and art were subordinate to politics, but he did not put forth the slogan that "literature and art must serve politics." This slogan only came about after Liberation. In the early 1960's, in an effort to rectify some of the "left" deviations in the literary and art arena, the Central Committee attempted unsuccessfully to formulate a set of working regulations for literature and art. During the decade of internal turmoil, this slogan was not only understood and applied in a parochial and mechanical way but was turned by the Gang of Four into a political tool in the service of their counterrevolutionary plots. In the new historical period, the Party Central Committee made some important readjustments and developments in its principles and policies toward literature and art. In a speech entitled "The Present Situation and the Tasks Before Us" delivered on 16 January 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We will adhere to the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend' and the 'three do nots', and we will drop the slogan that literature and art is subordinate to politics.... Of course this does not mean that it can be divorced from politics. That would be impossible. Every progressive and revolutionary writer or artist has to take into account the social effects of his works and the interests of the people, the state, and the party. The fostering of a new socialist man means politics." (*Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, p 220) On 26 July 1980, in an editorial entitled "Literature and Art Must Serve the People and Socialism," RENMIN RIBAO provided the clearest summary of and exposition on literature and art policies in the new period. The statement that "literature and art must serve socialism" enables us to consider more fully the complicated relations between the superstructure and the economic base, and between different factors within the superstructure, and to more accurately ascertain the position of literature and art in the socialist cause, as well as its many functions and roles. It can help us avoid making the old mistakes of oversimplification, one-sidedness, vulgarization, and anxiety for quick successes. The era of reform, the new reality, as well as new people and new deeds that have emerged one after another in the course of socialist material and spiritual development have provided our writers and artists with an inexhaustible source of material for their creative works. They have also placed higher demands on our writers and artists. The orientation of serving the people and socialism points out a brilliant road to the vast numbers of writers and artists and also provides a broad scope for using their skills.

In order to truly "serve the people and socialism," we must stand on the same side as the people, satisfy their needs, and take as the major subjects of depiction the

people as well as their brilliant achievements in creating socialism. The people's requirements of literature and art, be they in terms of content or of form, are many and varied. However, if we approach the problem from the perspective of the fundamental interest of the masses, it will not be difficult to see that an important aim of the masses in making use of literature and art is to understand and emancipate themselves through aesthetic activities so that they can better understand and remold the world. Literary and art works that give a correct portrayal of the masses can artistically reflect the wishes and aspirations of the people. They can also inspire the people, strike blows at the enemy and at all evil forces and play a positive role in promoting the great cause of the people creating history. The masses are the main body of social practice. They are the creators of history. Only when literature and art portray the masses as the main body of the social structure can they accurately grasp and reflect social life as a whole and embody the trend of historical development.

Comrade Mao Zedong greatly advanced Marxist thinking on literature and art in his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art." In the "Talks," Comrade Mao Zedong defined the important historical position of the people, particularly the workers, peasants, and soldiers from the high plane of the nature and tasks of China's new democratic revolution. As an organic part of the entire revolutionary cause, revolutionary literature and art naturally must take the masses, particularly the life and struggles of the workers, peasants, and soldiers as the major subjects of depiction. Only in this way can they play their militant role in "uniting and educating the people, dealing blows at and wiping out the enemy." In 1944, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly and profoundly explained the requirements of this historical materialist orientation in his "Letter to the Yan'an Beijing Opera Theater After Watching 'Driven to Join the Liangshan Rebels'." When the state entered the period of socialist construction, the times required our writers and artists to reflect heroes in industrial and agricultural production. In the 1950's, in the footnote to an article, Comrade Mao Zedong expressed deep "regret" over the fact that tens of thousands of heroes like Chen Xuemeng [7115 1331 1322] were never discovered and that "writers had not gone looking for these people."

It is not enough for writers and artists to take the masses as the principal subjects of depiction in their creations. Writers and artists with divergent sentiments and standpoints may produce vastly different works about the people. How then can we correctly reflect and portray the masses of the people? Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the one and only correct road: Go to the masses to bring about a change in position and sentiment and take the stand of the proletariat and the people, and consciously serve as loyal spokesmen for the masses. He made the following clarion call in the "Talks": "All revolutionary writers and artists in China, all writers and artists of high promise, must, for

long periods of time, unreservedly and wholeheartedly go into the midst of the masses, the masses of workers, of peasants, and soldiers; they must engage in fiery struggles, go to the only, the broadest, and the richest source to observe, learn, study, and analyze all men, all classes, all kinds of people, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, and all raw materials of literature and art before they can proceed to creation." (*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol 3, pp 860-861)

A change in stand and sentiment and the remolding of one's world outlook cannot be accomplished overnight. They involve tough tempering over long periods of time. It is a process "punctuated by pain and friction." (*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol 3, p 877) However, as long as we are resolute, the problem can still be resolved. When that happens, the works of writers and artists will be able to accurately and vividly reflect the lives and struggles of the masses and correctly and profoundly show the historical needs and lofty ideals of the masses. Historical practice eloquently proves that the orientation charted by Comrade Mao Zedong was a brilliant orientation. Thanks to this road, our party and people had been able to foster generation after generation of writers and artists. Thanks to this road, our writers and artists have been able to produce a spectacular array of masterpieces to add splendor to the garden of socialist literature and art.

We advocate that literary and art works must take the masses as subjects for reflection and depiction. However, this does not mean that other members of society are to be excluded. Mortal in this infinite universe are different in appearance and outlook to begin with. As artistic reflections of social life, literary and art works must, as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "create all kinds of characters on the basis of actual life and help the masses push history forward." (*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol 3, p 861) Of course we cannot "purify" characters of all shades and descriptions just as we please so that everyone depicted is lovable. Works thus "purified" are bound to be hypocritical and thus unwelcome. Furthermore, from the perspective of literary and art creation, truth, goodness, and beauty are hypocritical, blank, and weak unless they are juxtaposed against falsehood, evil, and ugliness. Works of literature and art that do not depict the struggle between falsehood, evil, and ugliness on the one hand and truth, goodness, and beauty on the other, do not tally with real life and cannot achieve great depth and force. Besides, all kinds of complicated contradictions exist even among the masses. It is entirely possible for a writer or a piece of work to make a concentrated effort to express certain aspects of or events in social life. In examining and appraising creative circles from the overall level, we should advocate and stress aspects in terms of general orientation. However, we should not be excessively specific in terms of requirements as to what individual writers write and how they write in order not to give them undue restrictions and affect their efforts to bring their strong points into play.

For literature and art to serve the people, it is necessary to find forms that are loved by the people. Writers and artists may have good intentions and the content of their creation may be excellent, but if they cannot create artistic forms suited to the contents and that are loved by the masses in their hundreds of millions, they cannot attract, influence, and win over people. Some people tend to overlook the importance of form. In their study and appraisal of literary and art works, they tend to concentrate on ideological analysis and only lightly touch on artistic form. The fact is, artistic form plays a key role up to a point. Literary and art works are different from philosophical, political, and scientific writings. Their decisive qualitative elements are precisely their artistic form. Works that do not pay attention to form will not be welcomed, just as food that only stresses nutrition but does not pay attention to culinary skill, color, aroma, and taste will not be welcomed.

In order to achieve as perfect an artistic form as possible and to be welcomed by the broad masses, it is necessary to study the masses as aesthetic subjects in order to be able to accurately understand and judge the positions, feelings, aesthetic interests, and appreciative abilities of the masses. As far back as 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the idea that the propagation of revolutionary ideas and culture must be done in "Chinese ways and styles loved by the Chinese people." (See "The Role of the CPC in the National War," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol 2, p 534) In 1965, in his "Talks with Music Workers," Comrade Mao Zedong again emphasized the need for literature and art to develop a national form and style loved by the Chinese people. (See *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong*, p 745) It is clear that what the Chinese people love are things national. Our literature and art have a fine tradition of several thousand years. We have accumulated rich creative experiences and have developed our own national forms and style. It was under the influence of this cultural background that the broad masses of the people developed their own relatively stable aesthetic habits. Socialist literature and art can only take root, blossom, and bear fruit among the masses if they can create a new ideological content that is in keeping with the new national form, founded on their own national traditions. Real life that is full of vigor and variety provides us with infinitely rich possibilities for creating new artistic images and forms. We are totally capable of satisfying the multifaceted spiritual needs of the people through literary and artistic creations with our own unique national forms, thereby enriching the world's treasure house of literature and art. We should also boldly assimilate what is useful in foreign culture. This need becomes more important today when different cultures come into contact and interact so frequently. Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized in "On New Democracy" that "China should absorb more progressive foreign culture as raw material for its own cultural food." (See *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol 2, p 706) In fact, the vast number of literary

and art workers have already scored outstanding achievements in making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China.

Where the satisfaction of the aesthetic needs of the masses is concerned, the "main theme" should be to reflect the spirit of the socialist times. However, the cultural needs of the masses have many facets and levels. Our literary and art workers must also pay attention to the diversification of subject matter, content, and artistic form. Unless diversified literary and art works of all hues and descriptions keep emerging in our garden of socialist literature and art, we cannot begin to talk about "letting a hundred flowers bloom" and bringing about the prosperity of socialist literature and art, still less about providing the broad masses with sufficient spiritual food of the best kind.

Half a century after the publication of "Talks," the masses have undergone substantial changes in their ideological consciousness, cultural level, and appreciative ability. The popularization of radio and television broadcasts and movies is now beyond the wildest dreams of the Yan'an years. The new situation and new needs arising from the development of science and technology and the enormous improvements in the people's material and cultural lives are also issues that must be studied and addressed with real earnest.

Moreover, China, with its long history, vast territory, numerous national minorities, and vast population, is unique in the world. Different nationalities and regions have vastly different customs, cultural traditions, and aesthetic tastes. People of different age groups, occupations, experiences, and educational background may also have different artistic preferences. These divergent needs, which serve the same general objective and follow the same general orientation, are both natural and normal and should be satisfied with rich and varied literary and art works.

Although the orientation of "serving the people and socialism" clearly spelled out in the party's literature and art policy has been readjusted as times change, it has been passed down in one continuous line and its general spirit is consistent and uniform. The reason is simple: It is the consistent and clear goal of Chinese Communists to lead the broad masses of the people in carrying out the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution, and socialist construction in order to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of the masses as far as possible. This is always consistent with the people's goal of struggle, a goal that will be unwaveringly adhered to. It also determines that the party's literary and art cause will never have a second goal. If literature and art depart from the general goal of struggle of the CPC and the people, they will lose their important value of existence. This was what Comrade Mao Zedong had in mind when, at the height of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression in 1942, he held the forum on literature and art to unite the ideology and understanding of the Yan'an writers and artists. This was also what Comrade Deng

Xiaoping emphasized in his "Speech Greeting the Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists" after 10 years of internal turmoil and at the start of the new historical period. He pointed out: "The overriding nationwide task for a considerable time to come will be to work single-mindedly for the four modernizations. This is a great enterprise that will determine our country's destiny for generations to come.... The basic standard for judging all our work is whether it helps or hinders our efforts to modernize. Writers and artists, together with educators, theorists, journalists, political writers, and other comrades concerned, should carry out a protracted and effective struggle in the ideological sphere against all ideas and habits that obstruct the four modernizations." (*Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, pp 180-181) It is not a shame but an honorable mission for socialist writers and artists to consciously serve the interests of the revolution and of the people.

What then should our socialist literature and art do for the people in this new historical period and under the new situation of nationwide reform and opening? Comrade Deng Xiaoping spelled out our clear and specific task in his "Speech Greeting the Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists." He said: "Our literary and artistic creations must give expression to our people's outstanding qualities and celebrate their triumphs in revolution, in construction, and in struggles against all kinds of enemies and hardships." (*Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, p 181) He also pointed out: "Our writers and artists should try harder to portray and help foster the new socialist man, and achieve greater successes in doing so. We must portray the new features of pioneers in the modernization drive, their revolutionary ideals and scientific approach, their lofty sentiments and creative ability, and their broad and realistic vision. Through images of this new man, we must stimulate the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism and inspire their creative activities, which are of historic significance in the pursuit of the four modernizations." (*Ibid*, pp 181-182)

The mission of socialist literature and art has many aspects and levels, but its principal task is to educate the people in socialist ideology and guide the people with communist ideals. A nation cannot hold itself together if it loses the ideals it cherishes. It is inconceivable how a socialist country that is waging an irreconcilable, intense, and complicated struggle against the old world, can rally a backbone force and lead the people in their hundreds and millions to seize victory in socialist revolution and socialist construction without the guidance and mobilization of ideals. It is of immense practical significance to discuss the propagation and artistic expression of communist ideals today. Due to drastic changes in the

international situation in recent years, our socialist cause is faced with rigorous tests and challenges. Every socialist literary and art worker who has a strong sense of responsibility and sense of historical mission must be soberly aware of the heavy historical responsibility on his shoulders, and must, in his literary and art creations, give full expression to the great penetrating power of brilliant ideals. Many of the new people and new conditions that have emerged in the wake of reform and opening have yet to be discovered and eulogized. Many of the contradictions and problems that have come to light, along with some of the evil things, also need to be addressed, studied, exposed, and criticized. As the new life after reform and opening changes with each passing day, it is taking time for writers and artists to understand, come to grips with, and reflect this new life. We encourage our economic reformers to boldly experiment with new ideas and blaze new trails, and we will allow them to make mistakes in their efforts to find the best approach and start their new enterprise. This also applies to literary and art workers who reflect reforms. If we just ask our literary and art workers to thoroughly study the reforms as bystanders and portray the reforms in their works, we are in fact depriving them of their glorious mission and responsibility for beating the drum and cheering on reform. The present problem is that the literary and art workers who truly actively throw themselves into the first line of reform, such as those who hurried to the front in response to the "Talks" did, are few and far between.

In his speech at the meeting celebrating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, Comrade Jiang Zemin also unequivocally reiterated the orientation of serving the people and socialism in socialist cultural development. He said: "Our cultural endeavors must serve the people and socialism, give full expression to their interests and aspirations, and satisfy the needs of the people through diverse, abundant and well-rounded cultural products in order to kindle their enthusiasm for building socialism." Here, Comrade Jiang Zemin not only emphasized the targets to be served but also pointed out the requirements in terms of the ideological content and social functions of cultural work. The demand and longing for socialism, which represents the orientation of the historical development of mankind, provide an infinitely vast scope for the development of literature and art. The overall environment of reform and opening is also conducive to efforts by our literary and art workers to give full scope to their enterprising and creative spirit. Let us firmly bear in mind and grasp the correct orientation of "serving the people and socialism"; help socialist literature and art strike deep root in the great earth of China; firmly rely on the strength of the people; gear to the needs of modernization, the world, and the future; and create more outstanding works that are worthy of the great times in which we live.

**Relationship Between Aesthetics, Reality Viewed**

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No 9, 1 May 92 pp 22-32

[Article by Ma Yingbo (7456 9496 0130): "Epoch-Making New Aesthetics—Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Publication of the 'Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art'"]

[Text] History is like the huge waves that constantly washes away the sand. In the historical process of forward progress, although some gaudy and glossy theoretical works create a stir for a while, as times change, they disappear from the scene. On the other hand, there are some theoretical works that will be forever young and that are constantly new as time goes by. Although they were produced in a certain historical period, because they reveal the essence of objective things from quite a high level, after the passage of time, not only are their basic principles not outdated but they increasingly fully reveal their great guiding significance. Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" (henceforth "Talks") is one such work.

The emergence of "Talks" was not accidental. It was inseparable from the maturation of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the utilization and development of Marxism in China, combines the correct theoretical principles and experiences of the Chinese revolution that have been proven by practice, and is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of CPC members. After a gradual process of formation and development, Mao Zedong Thought, through systematic summation and development in many aspects during the Yan'an period, realized maturity. At that time, Mao Zedong wrote a series of major works which enriched the treasure-house of Marxist theory with original theories. It was in this situation that "Talks" was produced. "Talks" is also inseparable from Mao Zedong's own deep and strong cultivation and accomplishments in literature and art. He was a widely-acknowledged poet and his widely-quoted poems were, in a certain sense, epics of the Chinese revolution. He was extremely well-read and learned; very well-informed about the attainments realized in our country's classical literature; thoroughly versed in many genres including poetry, fiction, and prose; and he had his own ideas and opinions on many topics in these fields. In recent years, following the further revelation of Mao Zedong's literary life, these aspects have become increasingly familiar to everyone. Mao Zedong not only realized great achievements in philosophy, but also engaged in much research on aesthetics. Materials show that he had studied Chernyshevski's book *The Aesthetic Relationship Between Art and Reality* (the Chinese translation was entitled "Life and Art"), and he engaged in a critical remolding of this work, which can be considered the highest achievement in materialist aesthetics prior to the birth of Marxism. "Talks" is even more inseparable from Mao Zedong's deep understanding of literature and art work. In his early years, he threw himself into the New Culture Movement and later continued to concern himself

with the development of the Chinese revolutionary literature and art movement, having a particularly deep understanding of the thought and works of Lu Xun, the great man of the revolution which occurred in Chinese culture. In order to resolve the problems faced by literature and art in a period when the people were masters, he engaged in serious investigative research. This can be seen from the memoirs of some of the literature and art workers who were in contact with him at that time. This means that when the "Talks" expounds on the question of literature and art, the discussion is incisive and trenchant. Of course, Mao Zedong was primarily a great proletarian politician, strategist, and theorist and it is for this reason that, when he discusses the question of literature and art, he has such a broad vision and can view the question from such a commanding height.

A new ideology and theory can only be produced when reality puts forward new tasks. "Talks" was produced in order to resolve tasks that had become ripe in the development of reality. Over several thousand years, in the history of human culture, very many excellent works of literature and art have emerged and still form a valuable spiritual wealth today. These works have given people of many generations intellectual inspiration and aesthetic enjoyment. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the majority of the protagonists in such literary works are of the exploiting classes, while the masses, as the creators of material wealth and spiritual wealth in society, play little part in such works. Often they are only the subjects of sympathy and pity. Works which describe revolt and struggle by the masses can be said to be extremely rare in world literature. In works where this does occur, the people's struggle is defeated and put to an end. This is not strange because, in real life in those times, such struggle always ended in tragedy. Only with Marxism were the laws of development of human society first revealed and only when there was a proletarian political party, with Marxism as its guide, was the masses' struggle for liberation led to victory for the first time. This moving struggle and the earthshaking changes it wrought inevitably meant new concepts of beauty appearing in social life, and literature and art which reflected the aesthetics of social life also needed new ideas of artistic beauty. This was a ripe new task which reality put forward for aesthetics. "Talks" essentially resolved this task and it can be said without any exaggeration that it was an epoch-making new aesthetics. In the last few years, the people who have belittled and attacked "Talks" have done all in their power to repudiate its aesthetic significance and said that "historical rationality is not equivalent to aesthetic correctness". We must in a forceful and assured way refute this argument and, at the same time, deepen our exploration of the aesthetic significance of "Talks".

**I. Aesthetic Value, Social Mission**

"Talks" takes as its initial theme the relationship between literature and art work and the general work of the revolution, incisively expounding upon this. In fact, what it discusses is the relationship between aesthetic value and social mission. From whence comes beauty?

Throughout history, there have been diverse opinions. Only when people used a historical materialist viewpoint to study a large volume of ethnographic and archaeological data was it possible to reveal the secret. This is, that the utilitarian value of things precedes their aesthetic value. On this point, Plekhanov, in his *Letter With No Address* (this book was included in the list of Marxist works for mandatory reading by middle and high-level cadres in the 1960s), cited a large number of convincing examples. In a foreword written for this book (the first Chinese translation was entitled "On Art"), Lu Xun concisely explained this truth: "When people in society look at something or some phenomenon, their initial viewpoint is a utilitarian one. It is only subsequently that they observe these things from an aesthetic viewpoint. All things that mankind finds beautiful are useful things—that is, they are things which are of significance for survival or for struggling against nature and the people of other societies. Utility is recognized through rationality, while beauty is recognized through the sensual capacities. When one enjoys beauty, although one might not think of utility, the utilitarian aspect can be discerned through scientific analysis. Thus, the specificity of the enjoyment of beauty lies in its directness. However, if the basic element in the enjoyment of beauty contains no utilitarian element, that thing will not be deemed to be beautiful." (*Collected Works of Lu Xun* Vol 4, pp 207-08) This tells us that as far as the source of beauty is concerned, utilitarian value does not contradict aesthetics but is an innate requirement of aesthetic value.

The relationship between aesthetic value and utilitarian value is like this when seen in terms of the origins of beauty and also when seen in terms of literature and art as aesthetic reflections of social life. When literature and art serve the social mission of the advanced class, their aesthetic value is unharmed. Quite the contrary, because this can greatly increase their aesthetic value. In the history of world literature and art, the Renaissance was a high point. It can be said that during this period, talented persons emerged in great numbers and they widely demonstrated their brilliance. This was inseparable from the social mission that literature and art bore with respect to the newly-emergent bourgeoisie. The Renaissance was the precursor of the bourgeois revolutions. As Engels said: "This was the greatest progressive revolution that man has so far encountered, a time which called for giants and produced giants—giants in power of thought, passion, and character, and in universality and learning." "But what is especially characteristic of them is that they almost all pursued their lives and activities in the midst of contemporary movements, in the practical struggle; they took sides and joined in the fight, some by speaking and writing, some with the sword, and many with both." (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 3, pp 445-46) Anyone who has even a vague knowledge of art and a basic appreciation of the beautiful will admit the aesthetic value of the works of arts produced during the Renaissance. If the giants of that time acted in the manner that some theorists today advocate, locking themselves in their own little works,

indulging in their own private vicissitudes, and putting all their efforts into separating art from politics, they would have become dwarfs. Would they then have been able to create works of such high aesthetic value?

The literature and art of 19th Century Russia was another high point in the history of the world's literature and art. Beginning with Pushkin, many authors, poets, and their richly-original works strode onto the literary stage and their literary achievements are still marvelled at today. This was, to a certain degree, aided by the flesh-and-blood relationship between Russian literature and art and the Russian's people's liberation movement. In the 19th century, Russia had long been ruled by the most reactionary and darkest system of feudal slavery. The people suffered heavy oppression and there were absolutely no democratic rights. It was only literature and art works that broke through the harsh censorship of books and newspapers, reflecting the realities of society and expressing what was in the hearts of the people. This resulted in literature and art becoming the crystallization of the spirit of the times and it is this that created their brilliant charm.

In "Talks" Mao Zedong stressed: "Art for art's sake, art that transcends class, and art that is mutually exclusive of politics actually does not exist. Proletarian literature and art is a part of the overall revolutionary cause of the proletariat." This shows the relationship between the aesthetic value and social mission of literature and art in the new period: Literature and art as a specific form of aesthetics serves the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Here, "a part of the overall revolutionary cause of the proletariat" is used in an overall sense. It does not require that literature and art must be subordinate to short-term, specific, or direct political tasks. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the slogan that literature and art are subordinate to politics has not been used. It has been replaced by the formulation "literature and art must serve the people and must serve socialism." This results from summing up some of the lessons learned from "Leftist" practices in actual work in the past and is intended to express the social mission of literature and art in a more accurate and complete way. Stressing the social mission of literature and art is not only a requirement of the revolution and of construction but also a demand for the development of literature and art itself. In the history of our country's modern and contemporary literature and art, and especially after the publication of "Talks", many outstanding works which have moved people's hearts, and will be passed on for a long time to come, have been written. The production of such works is inseparable from the fact that the writers and artists have taken on their social mission, kept in step with the times, and been of one heart with the people.

Over the last few years, an ideological tide has appeared which claims that the aesthetic and the utilitarian are not mutually compatible. The critics have fabricated the formula: "Following the gradual expansion of the pragmatic function of politics, the aesthetic function of art is correspondingly reduced and sometimes shrivels to nothing; conversely, following the gradual dilution of the pragmatic function of politics, the aesthetic function of art becomes more obvious." That is to say, the aesthetic and the utilitarian are inversely related and are mutually exclusive. If literature and art are to have an aesthetic

value, they must abandon any social mission while, if they shoulder a social mission, they will inevitably lose their aesthetic value. These critics assert: "The tear-inducing song 'On the Songhuajiang' was certainly able to ignite the anti-Japanese fury of the refugees in the northeast but it did not develop the mainstream of the art of vocal music." What a strange statement! It goes against the history of the emergence of beauty and also goes against the history of development of literature and art over several thousand years. Beauty, including natural beauty, social beauty, and artistic beauty is, in the end, a concrete form of a feeling and accords with the patterns of social development. Thus utilitarianism which serves the declining classes and the minority of exploiters can certainly harm or even destroy the appreciation of the beautiful. On the other hand, the utilitarianism that serves the advanced classes and the majority of the laboring people is greatly beneficial to the appreciation of the beautiful. The example cited by these critics precisely proves this point. The song "On the Songhuajiang" employed a mournful and moving tune to express the beauty and richness of the mountains and rivers of the motherland and the deep suffering inflicted on the country and the people, in order to elicit a sense of crisis and urgency at that critical juncture for the nation, to stir a strong sense of patriotism which would encourage people to fight to save the country. It not only spread like wildfire at that time and was sung and passed on by millions of people. Even today, it is deeply moving for the broad masses, strikes a chord in the hearts of listeners, and is widely and warmly received. Is this not powerful proof of its aesthetic value and aesthetic vigor? Similar works are too numerous to detail but include, "Graduation Song", "March of the Volunteers", "In the Taihang Mountains", "Yellow River Cantata", "Nanni Bay", "Our Workers Have Power", "Battle Song of the Volunteers", "Toasting Song", "In the Fields of Hope," and so on. Some are long songs, while others are just a few lines. Some are grand, some are delicate, and others are lyrical, but all of them are moving, give people a sense of beauty, have lasted a long period, and people never get tired of hearing them. Some of them stimulate people to deep thought. A very important aspect is that the writers of the songs used the artistic forms well liked by the people to give expression to the pulse of the times and to sing what was in the hearts of the people. How then can it be said that these do not "develop the mainstream of the art of vocal music". Can we say that those mediocre and stereotypical songs which make all sorts of fuss about "oh love, oh death" "develop the mainstream of the art of vocal music"? The evidence cited by the critics to support their view actually proves the absurdity of the view. We can put it this way: A prejudice is further from the truth than ignorance is.

Some critics praise Western aesthetics for "stressing an aesthetic mentality that transcends social utilitarianism" and castigate Marxist aesthetics for "stressing the tight relationship between aesthetics and social utilitarianism", saying that "when Mao Zedong put forward the two political and artistic criteria for literature and art, by

this prominent antithetical form he developed this concept to an extreme." In "Talks," Mao Zedong said: "All classes in all class societies place the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second." Actually he was revealing the aesthetic truth that utility takes precedence over aesthetics. In many situations, the utilitarian and aesthetics form a unity. However, when the utilitarian and the aesthetic aspects contradict, the demand put forward by practice is to first handle the utilitarian aspect and then worry about the aesthetics. This is a question of precedence. The ancient Greek, Plato, firmly wished to expunge from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* those sections that described incidents of opposition to rule. He said: "We will beg Homer and the other poets not to be angry if we cancel these and similar passages, not that they are not poetic and pleasing in most areas but because the more poetic they are the less suited they are to the ears of boys and men who desire to be free and to be more afraid of slavery than death." During the period of the League of Left-wing Writers in our country, the reactionary Kuomintang government, in its secret order prohibiting "Proletarian Literature and Art" admitted that the left-wing literary works "are profound in meaning and engaging in style." However, because "they incite the proletariat to struggle, harm the current economic situation, and attack our party's principles", the government issued "strict orders to all provinces to firmly forbid it to root out the sprouts of chaos". This was an example of the primacy of the utilitarian criterion. This fact is true for now and in the past, in China and abroad. Today, we require that literature and art works be healthy and cultured, positive and forward-looking, and things that the masses like to hear and see. We do not allow things that poison the people, pollute society, and oppose society to spread unchecked. This is also an application of the same principle. This is certainly not to say that in a literary or art work, that the ideology is primary and the artistry secondary. Artistry is a basic indicator that distinguishes literature and art from other forms of social consciousness. Divorced from artistry, literature and art works will not be literature and art works and it will be impossible to say any more about them. As far as literature and art are concerned, artistry is the essential base. In "Talks", Mao Zedong said: "Works of art, however politically progressive, are powerless if they lack artistic quality. Therefore, we are equally opposed to works with the wrong political approach as we are to the so-called 'poster-and-slogan' style which is correct only in political approach but lacks artistic power." Is this not an incisive explanation?

Today, an ideological weapon that some people use to oppose Marxist aesthetics is the so-called "pure art" theory, the theory of "art for art's sake". If we say that when the bourgeoisie was in the ascendant, the advocacy of "art for art's sake" by some people had positive significance in opposing feudalism then, following the decline of capitalism and after the growing social and spiritual crises of capitalism, the so-called "pure art" and "art for art's sake" at most can only reflect some people's "fin-de-siecle" mood of world weariness, pessimism,

decadence, and loss of hope. It cannot hurt one bit the rule by the monopoly capitalist class and is even a conscious protector of the capitalist system. The "art" produced under such theoretical control is disorderly and unsystematic, fragmented, obscure, complex and confusing; it considers the abstruse and even the ugly as beautiful. If, like a swarm of bees, we adopt and copy such art in China, not only will it go against the orientation of literature and art serving the people and socialism, but will also harm and pollute beauty. Can this be said to be utilitarian? It can. The sentiments of detesting the world and cynicism and the sentiment of not having faith in the communist party, which are spread through this theory and such works, certainly are utilitarian. However, they are not revolutionary utilitarianism but utilitarianism of another type.

## II. Realistic Beauty, Artistic Beauty

Where lies the source of beauty? Objective idealists say: Before the natural world and mankind appeared, there existed an "idea" and all phenomena derive from this. Beauty is the full manifestation of this idea in individual things. Subjective idealists say: Objective things do not in themselves possess any beauty. Beauty is the result of man's subjective temperament being "extended" to things. Contrary to these opinions, historical materialists believe that beauty objectively exists in the social life of mankind. Mankind's struggle to transform the objective world is the origin of social beauty. The social practice of mankind results in things of the natural world gradually changing from objects that are enemies of man or unrelated to him, into objects "for man". This is the origin of natural beauty. Aesthetic beauty is the product of the aesthetic reflection of social beauty and natural beauty. In "Talks," Mao Zedong said: "In the lives of the people themselves lies a mine of raw materials for art and literature, namely, things in their natural state, things crude but also most lively, rich and fundamental; in this sense, they outshine all art and literature and provide for them a unique and inexhaustible source." This provides the most succinct and clear answer to the question of the source of beauty.

Because the source of beauty is in social life, we should not seek any mystical "absolute idea" and should not, divorced from social life, blindly stress "introspection." Rather, we should go deeply into social life, seize beauty, develop beauty, and create beauty. In "Talks," Mao Zedong earnestly advised: "All revolutionary Chinese artists and writers and all artists and writers of high promise must for long periods of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses, and the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers. They must engage in fiery struggles, seek only the broadest and richest sources to observe, learn, study, and analyze all men, all classes, all kinds of people, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, and all raw materials of art and literature before they can proceed to creation." Over the last 50 years, several generations of artists and writers of promise have responded to this call and have gone deep into the bubbling life of revolution and construction, and even

reform and opening up, to create works that are worthy of the great age. When they look back over their path of creation, without exception they speak with deep feeling of the inspiration and education that "Talks" provided them in this respect and call their rich creative achievements "the presents of life." This is not accidental.

In the view of historical materialism, the nature of man is not an innate abstraction of individuals. In reality, it is the sum of all social relationships. It is thus that we examine the source of beauty in terms of social life and the practice of mankind. We cannot proceed from an abstract, unchanging human nature and see man as something which transcends society, transcends class, and transcends history. Rather, we need to proceed from man's social nature and man's historical development, realistically seeing man as a social man and a man of class living in a certain historical period. Seen from the historical perspective, only the life and struggle of the classes and masses that accord with the development of history contain beauty. When history developed to the time when the proletariat and its political party consciously transformed the world in accordance with the patterns of social development, a time when people struggled for the most glorious cause in the world—socialism and communism—social life inevitably produced new beauty. This beauty should naturally be reflected in our literature and art. Back in the 1880's, Engels was unhappy about how, in literature and art, the working class was only represented "in the form of a passive mass." He pointed out: "The rebellious resistance that the working class put up to the oppressive environment that surrounds them on all four sides, and the intense efforts they make to recover their position as people, semiconsciously or consciously, all belong to history. Thus, in the sphere of realism they should have their own position." (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 4, p 462) However, this hope was not realized during the lives of Marx and Engels. It was only when a number of works, perhaps best represented by Gorky's "Mother" appeared, that this hope became a reality. The historical achievement of "Talks" lies in the fact that it powerfully promoted the process by which a new realistic beauty became new artistic beauty. Over the last 50 years, the road we have travelled has not been smooth and, while there have been some miraculous achievements, there have also been some grievous mistakes. However, it cannot be denied that in the sphere of Chinese literature there have appeared a series of outstanding literary works that have indeed brought unprecedented and new things to the history of our country's literature and art. They have brought new worlds, new people, new thought, and new beauty.

Beauty is objective. It is independent of class, group, or individual will. The sense of beauty, as the product of active reflection of the aesthetic target in people's brains, has universality but it also has a greater diversity. People's stand and viewpoint, ideas, and feelings, as well as their artistic interests, all differ. In recent years, some critics have made special efforts to denigrate and write

off new realistic beauty and artistic beauty. Some people have said: "On the artistic level, 'Mother' is not really a great work and it is much inferior to Gorky's autobiographical trilogy." Can such an appraisal be considered fair by anyone who is unprejudiced and has any basic knowledge of art? We do not deny the aesthetic value of Gorky's autobiographical trilogy. They truly record the course of struggle of someone who had been born into the lower levels of society going out into the world, describing the ways of the world in vivid detail. However, their aesthetic achievements can in no way compare with "Mother." "Mother" portrays the lively images of the young worker Pavel Vlassov, his mother, and his comrades, who are all proletarian fighters with their own characters, and the work has moving artistic power. The work powerfully describes the difficulties and setbacks of the revolutionary road and the temporary failure of the revolutionary struggle, realistically describing the shortfalls and weaknesses of the chief protagonists and their course of growth. However, it convincingly shows the prospects of the inevitable demise of capitalism and the inevitable victory of socialism. This results in it being a completely new literary phenomenon, very different from all works that came before. Its contents, significance, and aesthetic value are far beyond those of the autobiographical trilogy. However, such views have recently been put forward quite frequently. Some people have said: "Ding Ling's *The Sun Shines on the Sangganhe*, which won the Stalin Prize, is far inferior in terms of depth of character description and artistic appeal, to her first work *The Diary of Miss Sophie*." The bias in such an appraisal is easy to see. *The Sun Shines on the Sangganhe* is an epic work reflecting the earthshaking and unprecedented changes that occurred in this village during land reform. Through the complex and acute struggles, the author portrays the images of the awakening peasants and village cadres, depicting their rich inner worlds and the clear individuality of the characters. In *The Diary of Miss Sophie*, the leading character seeks love and happiness, and while her contradictory and complex psychology is described very meticulously, it is but a psychology where love is above all else. That the critics make such a biased appraisal can only show that in class society, human nature has a class nature. They are fond of the human nature of petit bourgeois intellectuals and disdain the human nature of the laboring people who have begun to control their own fate. The same critic said of *Red Cliffs*, which describes the indomitable struggle of revolutionaries in underground work, in jail, and on the execution ground, that it is "only semi-realism" and that "it uses a tone that celebrates victory to cover up the real frustrations, depression, and gloom." That the critic should adopt such a vulgar and frivolous attitude to art that is so respected by the people, really makes one feel indignant. This shows that different people's sense of beauty are sometimes as antithetical and incompatible as ice and hot coals.

Artistic beauty has its origins in real beauty. This is one aspect of their relationship. The other aspect we must

look at is whether artistic beauty or real beauty is higher. This has been the subject of unending debate in the history of aesthetics. The objective idealist Hegelian aesthetics holds that beauty is the full expression of the "idea" in individual things, while reality is an incomplete and imperfect expression of the idea. Thus, real beauty is not true beauty. Only artistic beauty that is in accord with the idea is true beauty. Their conclusion is that artistic beauty is higher than real beauty. Because people are not satisfied with real beauty, they try to fill up the deficiencies of reality by creating beauty. This is how art comes to be. Although this view has a rational core, overall, it completely inverts the relationship between the material and the spiritual, between reality and art.

In his work *The Aesthetic Relationship Between Art and Reality*, Chernyshevski refuted this idea. He held that real beauty is true beauty and that the beauty in reality is not limited but actually very abundant. The degree to which the life of an individual is filled with beauty, and the degree to which any major thing is complete, is determined by their own efforts. As for those who say that beauty is lacking, he thought it better to say that people lacked discernment in appreciation of beauty. This argument he put forward is convincing. This materialist aesthetic theoretician who devoted himself to the cause of the people's liberation, seemed to enthusiastically call out to people: Go into action and struggle for the cause of creating glorious things in reality. Beauty is in life! Rise and struggle to truly reflect the beauty in life! However, at the same time that Chernyshevski correctly affirmed that real beauty was true beauty, he went to the extreme. He held that art is always lower than life and that the reason people need art is not because they cannot find true beauty in life but because they cannot regularly see this beauty. Thus, the only option is to use art as its substitute. Although this substitute is far inferior to the real thing, when the real thing is not available, it is satisfying. This idea is clearly one-sided. According to this "substitute" theory, the various famous works by the Chinese master painter Qi Baishi are essentially unnecessary since the things he painted, such as cabbages, fish, and prawns, can be seen by people anywhere. Is it then unnecessary to reproduce them? Neither are bamboo or stones rare things, but we still enjoy Zhang Banqiao's poem: "Gripping Qingshan without respite, pushing its roots deep into the craggy cliffs, holding firm despite constant buffeting, regardless of from whence the wind blows." This poem not only allows us to appreciate the qualities of bamboo and the integrity of the poet but also makes us think about many things, such as how, in these times of great change, to maintain the firmness of principle, and so on. Art works are not simple reproductions of objective things. Rather, they are dynamic reflections of real life. Through the phenomena of the real world, they can deeply reveal the basic patterns, and can, at the same time, express the subjective world of the artist himself. The reason people need art is not simply because they want it as a substitute

for reality. This one-sidedness of Chernysevski's aesthetics shows that he was unable to transcend the restrictions of metaphysical materialism and did not reach the level of dialectical materialism or historical materialism. The task of correctly describing the dialectical relationship between artistic beauty and real beauty was completed by Mao Zedong in "Talks." "Talks" pointed out that, on the one hand, real beauty is true beauty while, on the other hand, people are not satisfied with real beauty and seek artistic beauty. "Because, although both are beautiful, life reflected in literary and artistic works can and ought to be on a higher level, of a greater power and better focus, more typical, more the ideal, and, therefore, more universal than actual everyday life." The basic kernel of this view came from Chernysevski's aesthetics but discards the latter's metaphysical impurities. It also adopts the rational core of Hegelian aesthetics, discarding its idealist shell. This was the first time in the history of aesthetics that the dialectical relationship between artistic beauty and realistic beauty was so correctly and completely described.

### III. Dialectics of Aesthetics and Psychology of Creation

Some critics assert: "Aesthetics as the philosophy of beauty is increasingly giving way to the psychology of aesthetic experience." This statement is one-sided. Seen from the idealism that has flooded the aesthetic sphere in recent years, the philosophical question of beauty certainly is not something of the past and there is a need to continue to deepen exploration and to clarify right and wrong on the theoretical level. This is a precondition for correctly understanding all aesthetic questions. The study of aesthetic psychology is far from a monopoly of Western aesthetics. It is also an appropriate element in Marxist aesthetics. Only in Marxist aesthetics is it possible to truly place the study of the psychology of aesthetics on the scientific base of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In "Talks" and other works, Mao Zedong not only scientifically resolved the question of the relationship between artistic beauty and real beauty but also put forward a number of incisive views on the psychology of aesthetics, especially regarding the psychology of artistic creation.

With reference to the subjective and the objective, "Talks" pointed out: "An artistic or literary work is ideologically the product of the human brain, reflecting the life of a given society." This includes the two aspects of the objective and the subjective. Objective social life provides a rich artistic mine for the creativity of writers and artists. However, only if the writer or artist has exceptional insight will he be able to recognize the deep significance of the artistic source material. Only if the writer or artist puts his loves and hates, preferences, ideas of right and wrong and good and bad into the artistic source material will he be able to make them shine and turn them into works of art. As soon as the artist becomes in touch with life, his subjectivity will begin to play a role. Facing the same life, if a writer or artist understands a little materialist dialectics, his

vision will be much heightened. If he has rich experiences in life, his insight will be greatly increased. If he has some writing experience, and can take reference from good works from the past and present, from China and abroad, his perspectives will be greatly broadened. "Talks" discussed the changes in the stand, attitude, ideology, and feelings of writers and artists, the richness of life experiences, and the drawing of references from the cultural legacies in China and abroad. It noted that these are all expressed in the creative role of the subject during the process of reflecting the object. From where, then, comes the subjectivity of the writer and artist? It is not something innate in their own brain but is, in the end, the product of social practice. An overall understanding of Mao Zedong's exposition on the relationship between the subject and the object is helpful to us in clearly delineating subjective idealism in psychological research on aesthetics and creation. A few years ago, some people put forward the theory of the "subjectivity of literature," which falsely accused the dialectical materialist theory of dynamic reflection as being a "theory of direct reflection perception," and spoke as if only they stressed the importance of subjectivity. Some people said: Man's "inner world is a self-regulated system with unlimited creative capacity and its subjective forces can be brought into play to a very brilliant degree." This "subjective force" is some sort of introspective thing that is completely cut off from the external, objective world. It is "brought into play to a very brilliant degree" but at the same time, it blocks all of the sources of real inspiration for the authors and artists so that they become completely dried up. This results in the writers and artists being completely unaware of the various things that happen in society. They can only hanker after preposterous and even monstrous concoctions that have no relationship to beauty. Mao Zedong urged promising writers and artists to go deep into life, not only to understand the objective, but also to improve the subject. "Ask the stream the source of its clear water and it will reply that it comes from the bubbling spring at its source". Only if one steps out of one's own little circle and goes into the turbulent currents of life to hear the new sounds; goes out into the broad world to breathe new air; and goes among the ranks of the revolutionaries to discover new things will the "pool" that is the writer's brain be always clear and bright like a mirror and be able to actively reflect the splendor of the great times. This is the dialectical unity of subject and object.

Regarding emotion and thought, intuition and rationality. Emotion plays an especially important role in literary and art creation. In "Talks," Mao Zedong, when speaking of changes in writers and artists' position and world view took the changes in emotion as the major criterion. It can thus be said that he had a masterful understanding of the matter. An important characteristic of art is that it uses sentiments to move people. This is different from science which convinces people through rationality. Scientists do need feelings but that which constitutes the content of science is not emotion. Rather, science is comprised of theses, arguments, and proofs. On the other hand, emotion

is an indispensable element in forming the content of art and this is the crux by which artistic images can excite people. Mao Zedong described the circumstances of his own artistic conception and creation as follows: "Floating thoughts link and spin and at night I toss without sleep. A gentle breeze then wafts around me and the light of the new day streams though the window. I look far into the distance and then joyfully begin to write." This is the situation of surging emotion. Only in such a situation can the poets' imagination really take flight and fly freely, and can the mine of artistic materials in life be tapped by these emotions and turned into artistic images. Thus, for an artist, his recognition of things on the intellectual level must achieve an innate unity with his emotional attitude towards things, as only in this way can it play a role in creation. Otherwise, regardless of how progressive the artist's theoretical understanding, he will be unable, under the guidance of this understanding, to write a vivid work. Intuition also plays a role that cannot be ignored in literary creation. How should we look at intuition? How should we understand the relationship between intuition and rationality? In "On Practice," Mao Zedong pointed out: "Some things we perceive we cannot immediately understand. When we understand things, however, we perceive them more deeply." This is very illuminating for us in understanding this question. Writers use their own aesthetic consciousness when engaged in creation and this aesthetic consciousness has the characteristic of psychological intuition. At times in life, writers will, without thinking, produce some aesthetic reflections and this will elicit strong creative impulses. At times, the creative impulses will come all of a sudden, completely unexpected, and the creativity will gush like a stream. These are all regularly seen phenomena in literary and art creation. However, this intuition has rationality as its root. If we can use an analogy, some persons who are well-versed in grammar may, on seeing a sentence, have the feeling that it does not make sense. They do not have to analyze what is the subject, predicate, object, adverbial modifier, or whether the collocation is correct or whether parts are missing, and so on. This feeling is intuitive but is intuition based on prior accomplishments in grammar. The demands of this are not lower but actually higher than those for someone who carries out an on-the-spot grammatical analysis of the sentence. The same is true of creativity. It may appear that it is "fortuitously obtained," but actually it is the result of "accumulation over a long period." If there is no painstaking and wide-ranging seeking, there will be no creation of good works. If we understand in an overall way, Mao Zedong's exposition on the relationship between emotion and thought and between intuition and rationality, it will assist us in drawing a clear line delineating the nonrationalism in psychological research on aesthetics and creativity. Over the last few years, some people have acclaimed Nietzsche's theory of the will, Bergson's theory of intuition, and Freud's theory of the subconscious. They have taken these as the standard and raised the irrationalist blind will, mystic intuition, instinct, desire (especially sexual desire), and so on to the prime positions in the psychology of creativity. This irrationalism is completely unsuited to socialist literature and art. Socialist literature

and art must help people to understand life, must tell people of certain truths in life, and give people beauty to enjoy. This is completely at variance with irrationalism. We should pay attention to the roles of emotion and intuition in creativity, but we must also recognize that this emotion is raised by thought and that intuition is intuition based on rationality. This is the dialectical unity between emotion, intuition, thought, and rationality.

Regarding creative individuality and being spokesman of the masses, Mao Zedong held that the dialectical relationship between universality and individuality is the essence of material dialectics. He stressed individuality in artistic creation. In "Talks with Music Workers" he said: "There is universality and there is also individuality. There are common aspects and points of difference. This is a natural law and also a Marxist law. Composing, singing, and dancing should all be like this. That which is most dreaded in art products is uniformity and standardization. They need to stress individuality and diversity and must seek to clearly give expression to the creative individuality of the author or artist. In literature and art works, 'the value lies in the individuality.' In literature and art work it is necessary to implement the idea of 'letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend.' At the same time, Mao Zedong also stressed that writers should be the mouthpieces of the masses. He earnestly advised: "The work of any revolutionary writer or artist will only be of significance if he links it up with the masses, gives expression to the masses, and sees himself as the true spokesman of the masses." He opposed "seeing one's work as an expression of the self, which is a petit bourgeois attitude." We can thus see, for literature and art, that only stressing that "value lies in individuality" is insufficient. We also need to resolve the question of to whom "individuality" belongs. "Individuality" expressed in the work is that of the author or artist himself as well as that of the author or artist as a spokesman expressing the feelings, hopes, and ideals of the people in those times. Only in this way will the work be able to strike a strong chord among the millions of people and will it have an enduring vigor. Understanding, in an overall way, Mao Zedong's exposition on the individuality of the creator and his role as spokesman of the masses will assist us in clearly delineating the individual self-centeredness seen in psychological research on aesthetics and creativity. The various Western modern aesthetics that have flooded our country in the last few years are, on the ontological level, subjective idealism; on the cognitive level, irrationalism; and, in terms of their view of life, constitute individual self-centeredness. Practice has proven that individual self-centeredness can only smother the life of art. For artists in a socialist age, their artistic life lies in maintaining flesh-and-blood links with the people. Forgetting, ignoring, or severing those links will result in the vitality of art shrivelling up. We should consciously join with the masses of the new age and go deep among the masses' life of struggle in socialist construction and reform and opening up which are now accelerating. We must nurture ourselves with the spirit of exertion by which people make history. In this way, we will be able to ensure that individual creation and

tastes are closely linked with the masses' ideology and feelings. This is the dialectical unity of creative individuality and the role of the writer and artist as spokesman of the masses.

#### IV. National Character and Modernization of Artistic Beauty

Artistic beauty is the product of aesthetic reflection of real beauty. Here, aesthetic consciousness inevitably brings with it the national characteristics of the times. Thus, in the creation of artistic beauty, national character and modernization are extremely important issues. In "Talks" and other works, Mao Zedong put forward invaluable ideas in this respect and even today these still have very major guiding significance.

Mao Zedong placed great stress on the national character of artistic beauty. He believed that literature and art and the natural sciences were different from each other. Natural sciences have no national form while, in literature and art, there is the question of national form. In "Talks to Music Workers" he pointed out: "Art cannot be divorced from the practices, feelings, or language of the people and cannot be divorced from the historical development of the nation. National conservatism in art is quite strong and can last several thousand years." This incisively reveals the characteristics of artistic beauty and the position of national character in artistic beauty. Because of the particularities of their material and spiritual lives, each nation has, over a long period of aesthetic practice, formed its own aesthetic tastes and appreciation. Material dialectics is essentially revolutionary and critical. However, it stresses both a revolutionary nature and a conservative nature. "Conservative nature" refers to stability and continuity and, in various situations, this is a good rather than a bad thing. Imagine, if living things only had a mutant or revolutionary side and did not have a hereditary, conservative side. The people in the next generation will be different from the people in this generation. What would the world be like then? If we say that everything in its course of development has a conservative side, this aspect is particularly prominent in art. We should squarely face up to this characteristic and stress the continuation of the outstanding culture of the nation. A few years ago, the "anti-traditionalist" ideas of the Western modernist school were adopted in their entirety by some people in our country. Not only did they negate national character, they even completely negated artistic patterns and language standards. These attempts to overthrow everything was "leftism" taken to the extreme.

Mao Zedong likewise stressed the modernization of artistic beauty. He believed that following changes in the content of national life, changes will also occur in national aesthetic tastes and appreciation. Stressing the national characteristics of something is not equivalent to closing oneself off or being conservative. In "Talks with Music Workers" he pointed out: "The army band should not use traditional horns or string instruments. This is the same question that affects the type of uniform we wear. We wear modern uniforms, not the old-style Qing dynasty uniform, with the

character 'valiant' emblazoned on it front and back. In stressing national characteristics, we still have to adjust to changing times." He also said: "Some people say that fiction must be written in a particular traditional format. But this is not really necessary. However, the language and style must be Chinese." This tells us that new artistic beauty must reflect the new real beauty and describe reality. It particularly must describe the new people and new worlds in today's socialist construction, reform, and opening up. In addition, it must manifest the new aesthetic tastes and practices of the modern Chinese people and, in accordance with the needs of reflecting real life, in the creative practice, there must be new discoveries, new inventions, new creations, and progress. Of course, this modernization of artistic beauty cannot be divorced from the outstanding national aesthetic traditions over the last several thousand years and cannot be divorced from the precious revolutionary literature and art traditions over the last several decades.

Upholding the national character and modernization of artistic beauty is a manifestation of a lively and spiritual basic aspect of Mao Zedong Thought—seeking truth from facts. Mao Zedong always advocated proceeding from reality and combining the basic principles of Marxism with the specific realities of China. This was true of revolution and construction and is also true of aesthetics. He stressed that it is necessary to use the aesthetic principles of Marxism to study the characteristics of Chinese art and, from these characteristics, find the innate, rather than concocted patterns. That which is opposite to the seeking of truth from facts is doctrinairism. In "Talks," Mao Zedong earnestly warned us: "In literature and art, the uncritical appropriation and imitation of the ancients and foreigners represent the most sterile and harmful literary and artistic doctrinairism." Given the tide of "total Westernization" that has flooded the literary and art sphere in recent years, and the serious effects it has brought, studying these conclusions again, we can truly see how relevant they are! It is as if they were written for us today.

Upholding the national character and modernization of artistic beauty is also the manifestation in the aesthetic sphere of another vigorous and spiritual basic aspect of Mao Zedong Thought—the mass line. When Mao Zedong expounded on the question of the national character of literature and art, he always linked it with the popularization of literature and art. Only if literature and art manifests the aesthetic tastes and appreciation of the Chinese people today will it be accepted by the masses and will it be enjoyed by the Chinese people. Otherwise, literature and art serving the people will be an empty phrase. Conversely, only if one studies from the masses and draws sustenance from the masses will one be able to give artistic beauty a national and a modern character. The masses are not only the creators of material wealth, but are also the creators of spiritual wealth. The national originality of literature and art is a centralized manifestation of the creativity of the masses. Although the popular literature and art of the laboring masses is often only in a rudimentary stage, it is an evergreen tree that grows in the lives of the masses.

Such literature and art are close to life, close to the times, vigorous and lively, show the wisdom and creativity of the people, and provide valuable nutrition for creation by professional artists. In "Talks," Mao Zedong pointed out that in the popularization of literature and art: "We must popularize what is needed and what can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants, and soldiers themselves." The elevation of literature and art "involves elevation of the basis of the masses of the workers, peasants, and soldiers," elevation "along their own line of advance and along the line of advance of the proletariat." This fully manifests respect for the masses, not only respect for the demands of the masses, but also respect for the wisdom and creativity of the masses. Mao Zedong called on professional literary and art workers to strengthen links with those who popularize literature and art. They should "help and guide the popularizers, as well as learn from them, and through them draw nourishment from the masses, to develop and enrich themselves and to prevent their specialties from becoming empty, lifeless castles in the air, detached from the masses and from reality." This is a necessary road if literature and art are to serve the people and serve socialism and also the broad road by which to realize the manifestation of the national character and modernization of artistic beauty. The outstanding works produced since the publication of "Talks" saw clear breakthroughs in terms of national style and national character. This cannot be separated from the fact that the literature and art workers responded to Mao Zedong's call and studied from the masses. However, in recent years, some people have adopted a disdainful, loathing attitude toward these works which have long been well appraised. Some people have said that Zhao Shuli's novels "often make accomplished artists smile and shake their heads and are seen by experienced aesthetic judges as being the works of a beginner." Such a comment precisely reveals the aesthetic level and degree of accomplishments of this critic. If people are familiar with a little history they will know that, at that time, the artists who were rich in accomplishment and the experienced aesthetic judges almost became estatic about these works. After Guo Moruo, who was widely familiar with Chinese and foreign culture, had read Zhao Shuli's novels, he wrote: "I was completely intoxicated by these new, healthy, and simple contents and methods. Here, there is a new world, new characters, new feelings a new style and culture." (*Collected Works of Guo Moruo*, Vol 13, p 356) In the unhealthy trend of "rewriting literary history" which has been seen in recent years, black and white have been reversed and the beautiful and the ugly have been inverted. True art has been forced underground, while that which have been lauded are the difficult to explain "masterpieces" which seem like someone were talking in their sleep and which express absurdity, solitude, detachment, and even the consciousness of death. Do you not understand them? They will tell you that this is because your level is too low and that, in another 300 years or so, you will be able to understand them. In view of such a phenomenon, let us reread a section in "Talks": "Some works are only liked by a minority and are not needed by the majority. Some are even harmful to the majority still

are put on the market and are spread to the masses to serve the interests of individuals or narrow groups. They even reproach the masses for their utilitarianism. This not only insults the masses but also shows a great lack of self-knowledge." How relevant these words are for us! It is as if these words were written for us today.

Upholding national character and modernization of artistic beauty is the manifestation in the aesthetic sphere of yet another lively and spiritual basic aspect of Mao Zedong Thought—independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands. Like our garden of socialist literature and art, which is constituted by individual authors and works, the treasury of the world's literature and art comprises all sorts of national literatures and art with their own individuality. Whether or not the literature and art of a particular country has national originality is an indicator of whether or not it is mature. In "Talks with Music Workers" Mao Zedong pointed out: "On the cultural level, it is erroneous to exclude all foreign things but, likewise, it is erroneous to completely adopt all foreign things. We should become increasingly Chinese rather than increasingly foreign." "In particular, a large country like China should be the one to create something new and original." There is no doubt that our literature and art must be oriented toward the world. However, it must not just follow others. Rather, it should take China as the main part, collect the essences from of the rest of the world and advance national characteristics. Only in this way will it be possible for literature and art to win deep love from friends around the world, and only thus will it be possible to provide for the treasure-house of world literature and art, valuable art works that have our national characteristics and are different from the art works of other nations. Only if art is national can it be worldly. This is an irrefutable fact.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has upheld and developed Mao Zedong Thought, putting forward the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This, like a lighthouse shining in all directions, illuminates the path of development of our country's literature and art. Socialist culture with Chinese characteristics should take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guidance, inherit and carry forward the outstanding national traditional culture, fully manifest the socialist spirit of the times, and have a firm foothold in China while fully drawing in the outstanding achievements of world culture. If we advance thus, we will be able to dialectically combine national character and the modernization of artistic beauty, start new socialist things, and create new works with the characteristics of the Chinese nation. We will thus be able to ensure that our literature and art is enjoyed by the people of the whole country and strikes a chord in every household while, on the international artistic stage, it will show its own style and display its distinctiveness.

## East Region

### Jiangxi CPC Committee Work Report

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[Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee Work Report delivered before provincial CPC Congress by provincial secretary Mao Zhiyong (3029 5268 3938) on 19 June 1992]

[Text] Comrades,

Thanks to efforts exerted over the past two days, our provincial CPC congress has successfully fulfilled the task of electing provincial delegates to the 14th CPC National Congress. Our next important topic for discussion is to continue to profoundly study and implement the spirit of the plenary meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important remarks.

Before the Spring Festival, in accordance with important instructions issued by Comrade Xiaoping when he made a stopover in Jiangxi, our provincial CPC Committee and government put forward a demand of the "four-firsts" [si ge yi dian 0934 0020 0001 7820], and initially mobilized the whole province to study the instructions. After the issuance of the CPC Document Number Two and the promulgation of the spirit of the plenary meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, various localities took resolute action to conscientiously study and implement them. The repercussions, far-reaching influence and penetration of the drive were rarely seen in recent years. A distinctive central idea has run through Comrade Xiaoping's important remarks, that is, we must firmly, unswervingly and comprehensively implement the party basic line of "one center, two basic points," emancipate our minds, seek truth from facts, have our hands and feet unfettered, conduct experiments boldly, overcome various kinds of interference, seize on the favorable opportunity, speed up the pace of reform and opening up, concentrate our efforts on boosting economic construction, and continuously and fully push forward the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics. Over the past four months or so, in the course of studying the remarks, the whole province has implemented them, and made marked progress in ideological understanding and practical work. After study, everyone generally says: "In the past, there were some matters which we were not clear about, and we did not dare to do boldly. Now we have been greatly enlightened by the remarks." They add: "We must no longer wait or sit now. Otherwise, we will lag far behind." Various localities and departments have made new arrangements aimed at speeding up reform and development and pushing forward a lot of work at a still faster rate. In particular, there has been a good tendency in economic operations. From January to May this year, both industrial output value and sales output value increased by more than 20 percent. Budgetary profits and taxes of

industrial enterprises went up by 59.73 percent. Our work of making up deficits was among the best in the whole country. Updating and transforming investments increased by 48.1 percent, and the number of newly approved foreign-funded enterprises grew by nearly 250 percent. The amount of imported foreign capital showed an increase of 39 percent, and industrial output value of both township and town enterprises and industry increased by more than 52 percent. Readjustment of agricultural structure has been further accelerated, and commercial and trade work has been increasingly invigorated. It is appropriate to say that Comrade Xiaoping's important remarks have been creating a new situation in which people are competing with one another to strive to surge forward together.

An important task facing party organizations at all levels throughout the province is that they must profoundly comprehend and comprehensively implement the spirit of the plenary session of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Xiaoping's important remarks, and integrate emancipation of minds with efforts to truly grasp our work in a down-to-earth manner. They must persist in emancipating their minds amid practical work. In the course of emancipating their minds, they must firmly grasp their work, speed up reform, expand opening up, and strive to push our economy to a new height in a still better and faster way. With regard to how to profoundly comprehend and comprehensively implement Comrade Xiaoping's important remarks, Comrade Jiang Zemin systematically expounded it in both theory and practice in his recent important speech delivered at the Central Party School. We must conscientiously study and implement the speech. In accordance with the opinions of members of the provincial CPC Committee Standing Committee, I would like to go into the following five issues.

#### I. Place "Daring" Above Everything Else and Push Emancipation of Minds to a New Height

Practice since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has shown that emancipation of minds is the precursor of reform, opening up, and economic development, and also a magic weapon for always maintaining a flourishing vitality and vigor in our thinking and work. Thirteen years ago, Comrade Xiaoping advocated emancipation of minds, and stressed that practice is the sole criterion for testing the truth. This has greatly aroused the masses' spirit of seeking truth from facts, and their courage for creative work. It is appropriate to say that without emancipation of minds, it would have been impossible for us to score great success in reform and opening up over the past 10 years or so, which has become the focus of world attention. Today, Comrade Xiaoping has again advocated emancipation of minds, and stressed that a criterion of "three-benefits" must be used to judge what is right and what is wrong, and that we must speed up the pace of reform, opening up and economic construction by every possible means. This is a new demand of the emancipation of minds under the new situation. The

more deeply our reform develops, the more penetratingly the old system is touched upon. This has further shown the urgency and importance of the emancipation of minds. In particular, to leading cadres at all levels emancipation of minds is a key factor. Without emancipating and changing their minds, it would be very difficult for them to push forward all their work. Only by emancipating our minds and enlivening our thinking can we have more courage, widen our views, work out more methods, and take more solid and faster steps in invigorating Jiangxi and enriching our people. Therefore, to profoundly study and implement Comrade's Xiaoping's important remarks, we must closely integrate them with practice, continue to overcome "left" influence, and constantly change old concepts. Leaders must persist in taking the lead, and putting "daring" above everything else to push emancipation of minds to a new stage.

**1. The key to the emancipation of minds lies in how to treat the issue of the "surname of socialism or capitalism," and whether we dare to use all useful things of capitalist countries.**

At present, both right and "left" things have affected us. But, what is deeply rooted is the "left" things. Both right and "left" deviations can ruin socialism. We must be on the alert for right tendencies, but mainly we must guard against "left" tendencies. "Left" tendencies have a deep historical and social root. The idea that "left" tendencies are better than "right" tendencies, and that we must prefer being "left" to being right will assert itself in different forms during different periods. Today, "left" tendencies are mainly reflected in a "morbid fear of capitalism." The issue of the surname of "socialism" or "capitalism" has very often puzzled some of our comrades. For example, when one talks about separation of the two kinds of power, amalgamation of enterprises, leasing of property, one always feels uneasy. When one mentions "foreign-funded" enterprises, private economy, shareholding system, or stock exchange, one always fears that the direction is wrong. It is obvious that without solving these problems well, it will be difficult to accept the correct policy of reform and opening up. It will be impossible to make a big step in reform and opening up. Therefore, at present it will be necessary for us to deepen our understanding in the following two respects. First, we must realize that socialism as a brand-new social system can be successfully built only on the basis of inheriting and utilizing all social productive forces and all excellent cultural achievements that have been created in capitalist society, and only through making new creations in light of new practice. Although socialism is different from capitalism, they must both pursue a commodity economy. In their economic operations, there must be some matters that are in common use. We must on no account reject advanced technology, operational forms, and administrative methods adopted by capitalist countries. The problem of having a "capitalist or socialist surname" does not exist. Second, we must firmly believe that we have our own strong points in using things of capitalist countries, which are beneficial to us. We have state-owned medium-size and large

enterprises and township and town enterprises. What is more important is that political power is in our hands. With such a strong point, we can absorb and learn from civilized achievements of whichever social systems. In this regard, we must further emancipate our minds, have more courage, and take still faster steps. This key lies in our mastery of the "three-benefits" criterion proposed by Comrade Xiaoping. We must employ whatever methods, and take whatever actions as long as they conform to such criterion.

**2. While emancipating our minds, we must make main efforts to get rid of an incorrect understanding of the planned economy, and be bold in making use of market means to develop a market economy.**

For a long period of time in the past, because of the influence of "left" deviations, we often wrongly thought that a "planned economy means socialism," and that "centralized management and control are intrinsic requirements of the planned economy." Therefore, in the course of developing a commodity economy, we did not dare to make full use of market means. We failed to take effective measures to establish and develop various commodity markets. Furthermore, we are not active enough in establishing and developing markets of various production factors, including means of production, capital, labor service, and so on. In particular, when market development was not healthy enough, and some confusion occurred, we did not dare to use market means, such as prices and interest rates, to regulate our market. What we often did was to adopt administrative means, or even take repressive measures to deal with the matter. Now, to make full use of market means to develop the commodity economy, we must update our concepts on planning and develop new ideas in accordance with the demands of the new socialist economic system. We must understand that both planning and the market are economic means. Whether we take more planning or market into consideration is not an essential difference between socialism and capitalism. It is imperative to link organically the merits of a market economy with those of a planned economy and overcome once and for all the defects of over-concentration of power, neglecting or rejecting a commodity economy, and completely reform our overcentralized planned economic system. The key issue is that under overall control of the state, we must pay more attention to and give fuller play to the market's role in the distribution of resources. This has demanded that we change the previous overcentralized method for handling affairs, discard the idea of stubbornly clinging to the vested interests of departments, and turn the positive achievements of the emancipation of minds into practical action in reform and opening up. Actually, our economic life is filled with dialectics. We must do well in exercising overall regulation and control over some matters, especially the scope of investment in fixed assets and construction, the scale of credits, the level of goods prices, and so on. However, with regard to many other things, and microeconomic activities in particular, it does not mean that the more

control we exercise, the better the results will be. Since we cannot handle or control them well, we would rather let lower levels deal with them by fully applying market means.

**3. To emancipate our minds, we must dare to remove ideological taboos and simply following instructions from upper authorities and books and failing to pay attention to reality, and have the courage to persist in proceeding from reality to try out, break through, and "take risks."**

Now, when talking about gaps between us and coastal developed areas, some comrades might say: They have enjoyed preferential policies. No doubt this is a fact. However, we must also realize that in some respects, we are not as good as they are in implementing policies. For example, in the course of implementing policies, they attach importance to adhering to the major principle. In the meantime, they can also flexibly implement their policies in light of practical conditions. Very often, some of our localities and units can only indiscriminately copy, or apply formulas without showing any flexibility. Therefore, they bind themselves hand and foot. To change this situation, we must have the courage to not simply follow instructions from higher authorities and books and seek nothing but the truth. We must dare to persist in proceeding from reality, and integrate the principle of our policies with flexibility permitted by principle. We must ensure that we are able to work in a creative manner in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts under the following three circumstances: First, when the policies of higher authorities are in accord with local practical reality, the policies can be implemented in a prompt, full, and effective manner. In the meantime, we should take the initiative in integrating our policies with other good policies of neighboring areas. We should be bold in using their policies for reference. Second, when certain specific policies are not completely in accord with local conditions, we must dare to make flexible adaptations so that the measures taken by us can conform with the essence of the policies of the higher authorities, and local conditions. Third, while handing problems in real life that call for an immediate solution that is not covered by existing rules and regulations formulated by higher authorities, we must dare to experiment. In practical work, we often encounter the following situation: Some capable people conduct experiments first while some people always wait for documents. Some other people even wait for both documents and the experiences of other localities. When they learn of the experiences, they still wait for the opinions of higher authorities on popularizing them. As a result, those who dare to experiment stand out in their work. Those who always wait for something from the higher authorities make no progress. This has told us that only by taking daring action can we achieve something magnificent. We must not only dare to do things that are governed by documents but also have the courage to do things that need to be done immediately in practical work, although they are temporarily not stipulated in explicit terms, and the higher authorities have not made

public their stand on them. In this process, an important point is that we must have the spirit of taking risk. Once we accurately settle on something, we must dare to try things and make a breakthrough. Even though we make mistakes, it does not matter as long as we can correct them promptly. Under such circumstances, leading cadres must speak in defense of those comrades working under them. Only in this way can the lower levels truly release their immense creative power.

**4. To emancipate our minds, we must strive to change our inertia of laying too much emphasis on stability. It is an absolute truth that our development must be fully reflected in extraordinary growth.**

For many years in the past, because of the influence of traditional economic theories and old concepts, some of our comrades used to pit accelerated development against steady and coordinated development. It seemed to them that they could not achieve fast development if they stressed stability, and that if they intended to accelerate development, stability would be affected. They could only choose between the two. This was obviously wrong. Of course, keeping from paying too much attention to stability does not mean that we encourage an impractical high speed. On the contrary, we must work in a down-to-earth manner, attach importance to efficiency, and promote our development in a steady and coordinated way. But steady growth and coordinated development are only relative, not absolute. Only development is an absolute truth. Economic development itself is a process of dynamic motion. Rapid development does not necessarily affect steady and coordinated development. A slow rate does not mean that balance can be naturally maintained. Therefore, in places where conditions exist, efforts must be made to speed up faster development. High speed is not risky as long as it can ensure high quality, good efficiency, and conformity to changing market demands. In particular, if an economically backward area intends to catch up with an economically advanced area, it must progress at a speed that can ensure active development. Slow speed is not allowed, much less stagnation. Without a speed that can ensure certain development, we cannot begin to talk about efficiency, structural readjustment, and improvement in distribution. Moreover, the world today is an open world, and we must promote faster development. This is our only option in light of the international and domestic situations. At present, some countries in the world are experiencing an economic depression. This has given us space beneficial to our development. Development at top speed in the Asian and Pacific region has created a very strong economic pulling force in our country. Industrial upgrading in coastal areas at home is tending to speed up day by day. This has provided us with more opportunities for following them up or taking them over. It is precisely the time for us to "speed up a bit." The "valuable quality of the wise lies in their ability to seize favorable opportunities, because opportunity knocks but once." If we let favorable opportunities slip because of laying too much emphasis on stability, we will

experience backwardness by stages. This kind of backwardness is much more serious than backwardness caused by other reasons. Now whether we can speed up our economic development has become a principal contradiction in our province's economic and social life. This will determine and act as a constraint on other problems in other aspects including social development, political stability, relations between the party and the masses, prestige of the government, and so on. Therefore, we must have a strong sense of urgency, crisis, and catching up or surpassing others. Our option can only be: Turn pressure into a motive force, and motive force into an elastic force to do everything possible to realize extraordinary economic growth in our province.

## II. Speed Up Our Pace, and Make Efforts to Realize an Economic Flying Leap

As far as our province is concerned, to meet Comrade Deng Xiaoping's demand of seizing the favorable opportunity, and speeding up economic development, it is necessary for us to strive to fulfill ahead of schedule the "Eighth Five-Year" Plan and 10-Year Program in the 1990's. We must strive to ensure that our economic growth rate is higher than the average level of the whole country, and that our main economic indexes will come out in front in the whole country. Understanding such accelerated development does not mean that we lopsidedly seek output value and targets or follow the beaten track of onesidedly expanding capital construction. On the contrary, we must place emphasis on speeding up economic structural readjustment, pushing forward technological progress, developing an export-oriented economy, improving the quality of enterprises, and so on. We strive for faster speed and efficiency, and make efforts to break paths for development characterized by high speed and good efficiency. This has demanded that we employ extraordinary methods in our practical work and that we dare to adopt devices that will enable us to break through and leap forward. Specifically speaking, we must exert main efforts to grasp the following five points well.

### 1. With regard to production arrangements, we must devote our main efforts to grasping well comprehensive development of our superior products, projects, and industries.

With our bumper harvest in agriculture in successive years and a major breakthrough in our structural readjustment, agricultural products in Jiangxi are no longer in short supply. Their supply is ample. The problem of shortage of industrial raw and processed materials has been solved on the whole. It is even difficult to sell some products. This marks a historical change in the previous situation in which fairly large numbers of agricultural products could not meet market and industrial sector demand, making the contradiction between further development of agriculture and the weak absorbing power of the industrial sector more acute. This has shown that readjustment in terms of substituting and improving products, making good omissions and so on,

in some sectors in satisfying market demand has been basically completed. Now we must march toward strategic readjustment with the aim of comprehensive development of superior products, projects, and industries. With this starting point, we must further optimize our structure to ensure the coordinated development of agriculture, industry, and commerce. For this reason, we must update and develop our concepts and do away with the old production tradition based purely on raw materials and quantities. We must break with the old system characterized by barriers between town and country, and separation between departments and between industries. We must carry out a rational readjustment of our production setup as a whole, and decide our main direction of attack for economic development. As far as the whole province is concerned, the emphasis must be laid on developing agriculture of "high yield, high efficiency, and profits." We must make a breakthrough in agriculture that can earn foreign exchange, and make a breakthrough in township and town enterprises. We must make new progress in developing processing industries, including vehicles, fiber products, building materials, steel products, foodstuffs, fodder, ceramics, medicine, and so on. We must take a leap forward in speeding up the development of tertiary industry, characterized by less investment and rapid results, and that is beneficial to solving the problem of employment. We must attach importance to and vigorously develop it. As far as various localities are concerned, they must select their own competitive products and superior projects in light of local conditions and carry forward their own strong points so that their superiority in products and projects can develop into a superiority in industries, and become main pillars of the local economy and a springboard for leaping to new heights. At present, about 50 percent of the counties and cities throughout the province have rationally embarked on or selected their own ways to become rich, characterized by their own styles. Their experiences have told us that our thinking, arrangements, and measures for handling production must also break with traditional habits, and that we must be good at establishing production bases, running main enterprises, and developing key industries, and devote our main efforts to making a breakthrough. We must develop new items every year and make a new breakthrough in one or two years. After consolidating our achievements, we must make another new breakthrough in another one or two years. Again, we must consolidate our successes. We must be determined to improve quality, broaden our scope, increase efficiency, and raise our standard so that we can develop our industrial network in accordance with local strong points. As far as our methods are concerned, we can make use of local strong points by focusing on superior products in areas that are rich in natural resources, and vigorously developing processing, transportation, and marketing undertakings with the aim of turning strong points in natural resources into economic strong points. We can also go in the opposite direction. In places that are not rich in natural resources, we can select products to be manufactured. In the course of running factories, we can promote the establishment of raw material resources. In a word, we must cater to the

needs of varied markets, give prominence to our strong points as best we can, and promote our development as fast as we can.

**2. In economic operations, we must devote our main efforts to stimulating circulation.**

Under commodity economic development, demand is very often reflected first in circulation. Production starts only after that. Therefore, the more production is socialized and standardized, the more we must give further prominence to the stimulation of circulation in order to spur economic development as a whole. For example, when quantitative shortages of majority of commodities is over and structural shortages or surpluses are unavoidable, it is necessary to guide production through circulation and make further efforts to increase variety and improve quality. In view of the fact that enterprises have increasingly enhanced their ability to act according to circumstances, and that the shortage of certain products will be considerably shortened, it is also necessary for us to guide production through circulation. We must pay attention to finishing projects ahead of schedule, and devote our main efforts to tapping potential markets. We must avoid competition among numerous enterprises in manufacturing the same kinds of products. In view of the fact that market sales have increased and that the room for additional varieties of commodities has increasingly narrowed, it is also necessary for us to guide production through circulation. We must concentrate our efforts on developing new products, take the initiative in stimulating and guiding consumption, and enhance our market shares. With such understanding, our production order, supply, and marketing must be organizationally changed into that of marketing, supply, and production. Instead of merely keeping a balanced market, we must take the initiative in squeezing into the market. Instead of making unitary arrangements for markets inside and outside the province, we must switch to the direction of opening up markets outside the province and abroad. Planned marketing by the state aimed at supplying goods must be changed into competitive sales promotion. Regional blockades and restrictions imposed by departments must be changed into the free flow and circulation of materials and products.

Judging by the work of many localities where a commodity economy is active, to do well in stimulating circulation, it is necessary to work along two lines to open up markets. On the one hand, we must seek markets in which we can promote sales of our products, and deal with the two weak points, namely, sluggish wholesale operations of state-owned and cooperative commerce, and peasants' difficulties in entering into the circulation field. Apart from continuing to do a good job in the main sector of state-owned and cooperative commerce, various localities should resolutely establish professional sales teams to pursue sales policies based on contract responsibility. To ensure that our circulation channel is unimpeded, we must be fully determined to remove all barriers except certain limitations imposed by the provincial government according to law. On the

other hand, we must focus on the establishment of markets to promote business and sales. The establishment of a market in a certain locality can spur the development of a certain kind of undertaking, bring about economic invigoration, and enrich the masses. During the "Eighth Five-Year Plan," we must speed up market construction in the whole province. We must make major efforts to develop marginal [bian ji shi chang 6708 7139 1579 1034], professional, wholesale, and country markets, including markets of production elements. We must also do our best to turn street shops in cities and towns into commercial networks, and strive to double present areas under market.

**3. With regard to the disposition of the main elements of the productive forces, we must devote our main efforts to doing a good job in technical progress.**

In the future, with the increase in social demand for high quality products, our products and production setups will move in the direction of rationally manufacturing high-grade and modern products. Only by integrating our strong points in natural resources and cheap labor with science and technology to manufacture low-cost, high-quality products can we compete with the coastal areas in domestic markets, and with Western competitors in foreign markets. Now some developed countries have exported considerably more than 1,000 kinds of products made of rice or sweet potatoes to earn foreign exchange. By importing technology, while promoting the sale of delicacies on foreign markets, Guangdong has also conducted a "northern expedition" to push their products into our areas. Under such circumstances, if we fail to do what we can to catch up, we cannot begin to talk about opening up markets. Those markets we have occupied might even be taken over by others. Therefore, it is of great urgency that we carry out serial technical reform of the entire agricultural and industrial links. After exerting our efforts for several years, the scientific and technical element in the growth of agriculture and industry might respectively reach more than 40 and 50 percent.

To solve the problem of the existing low level of technical progress in our province, apart from asking the state for better and larger technical transformation projects, and inviting businessmen at home and abroad to come to conduct technical transfers or transformation, we must vigorously mobilize and organize grass-roots units to strengthen lateral ties with cities, medium-size and large enterprises, universities and colleges, scientific research institutes, and units under central or provincial authorities, so that they can try every means to import technology and talented personnel. Within our province, we must rely on deepening scientific and technological structural reform to invigorate scientific research units and release scientific and technological personnel. Through the law of value, we must turn science and technology into gold and push them onto the market. We must push our scientific and technological personnel to the forefront of production. For this reason, we must allow our scientific research units to expand

their decision-making power so that they can gradually run their units like enterprises. We must allow compensated transfer of all valuable technology. Those who serve as middlemen can obtain their commissions. We must allow professional, technical personnel to run and lead enterprises. They are also allowed to be contractors or lessees of enterprises. Retired scientific and technical personnel are allowed to contact relevant units to provide them with compensated services. Scientific and technical personnel are allowed to obtain the major portions of income from technical contracts. We must generously reward scientific and technical personnel who have made outstanding contributions, and encourage them to get rich first in terms of policies.

**4. While promoting local progress, we must make main efforts to grasp well county economic development.**

After we entered the 1990's, relations between economic development in various localities and their external environment have become closer and closer. Various localities have also forged closer ties in the course of exploiting their own strong points. During the period of developing a self-sufficient economy and carrying out unitary grain production, a single township or village might still be able to rely on its own efforts, or follow a single pattern to guide their work. However, nowadays, they must mainly rely on favorable geographical and human conditions, and exploit their strong points in resources and industries to coordinate relations between various quarters to push forward local development. This requires that various localities demonstrate their greater flexibility and creative power to attain a speed of local development in accordance with their own characteristics. Only by integrating efforts made by various villages and households with such speed of local development can we accelerate economic development as a whole.

A county is an integration point between city and countryside, a forward command post, and a basic operation unit as well. The county economy has accounted for more than 70 percent of the economic proportion of the whole province. To achieve economic take-off of the whole province, the county economy plays a very great role. Actually, the rapid development of the county economy is a common characteristic of economically developed provinces. This is precisely a weak link in our province. In some of our counties (cities), their county-run enterprises are weak, their neighborhood enterprises are backward, and development of township and town enterprises was late, thus they still encounter very great financial difficulties now. Therefore, we must form a new concept in the comprehensive development of the county-level economy, and forge a path characterized by integration between cities and countryside, among production, processing, and sale, among trade, industry, and agriculture, and among agriculture, science, and education. Provincial, prefectoral, and city authorities must set higher requirements for developing the county-level economy with emphasis on the following two aspects: First, they must again create a number of counties whose

respective financial incomes reach 100 million yuan. Second, they must enable 30 counties to do without financial subsidies of the state within a definite time. Various counties (cities) must continue to focus on "increasing financial income and reducing financial subsidies" as a focal point in economic and social development. The county-level economy mainly relies on township and town enterprises to grow. Excessive population increase is a major stumbling block. The focus of county (city)-level work must always be centered on the above-mentioned "two points." [development of township and town enterprises and curbing excessive population growth] In particular, those 562 counties that are industrially weak must vigorously develop their own township and town enterprises so that their industrial output value can exceed their agricultural output value as soon as possible. As for counties whose populations growth has exceeded the plans, it is even more necessary for them to take "strict" measures to curb "actual growth," so that their natural population growth rate will be lower than the level of the whole province. Various localities must comply with arrangements made by the recently held meeting of secretaries in charge of agriculture to do a good job in the two major issues of "increasing financial incomes and reducing financial subsidies."

**5. In capital construction, we must give prominence to boosting energy, transportation, telecommunication, and water conservancy projects.**

Increasing development of economic construction has more urgently required capital construction projects including energy, transportation, telecommunications, water conservancy, and so on. The problem of stagnation in energy, transportation, and telecommunication projects in Jiangxi is fairly serious. Every year, we are short 20 percent in electric power supply. This affects not only the staying power for economic development, but also directly hampers recent normal economic operations. This not only affects the scope and efficiency of the development of various undertakings, but also directly hinders improvement of the hard environment for opening up to the outside world. It is obvious that energy, transportation, and telecommunication must proceed ahead of the rest in order to develop the economy. Water conservancy is the lifeline of agriculture and the entire national economy as well. In recent years, floods and drought have repeatedly occurred in our province. This has given us a warning that we must attach importance to water conservancy construction.

To do a good job in energy, transportation, telecommunications, and water conservancy projects, we must first improve the quality of capital construction and employ a policy of favoring them to ensure that we can obtain funds in time, and that arrangements for land, demolition, labor, goods, materials, and construction supplies will be made on a priority basis. Second, we must arouse the enthusiasm of governments at all levels in running power plants, constructing highways, and undertaking water conservancy projects. All these undertakings must be run and administered by different levels which will

derive benefits from them. Small hydropower plant projects must be planned in a unified way based on different water sources. These projects must be systematically carried out to lower costs. A proportional electric power supply system on a trial basis can be considered. If prefectures and counties run more power plants, the proportion of power supplied to them by the province will not be reduced. If they run fewer power plants, the proportion of power supplied to them by the province will not be increased. Third, we must open all avenues for raising funds. Apart from striving to obtain the support of the state, we must make use of more foreign capital and expand the issuance of local main construction bonds. We must also launch projects to employ labor in lieu of supplying funds, and provide jobs in lieu of relief to bring the enthusiasm of the broad masses of people into key electric power, highways, and water conservancy construction projects.

### **III. Be Bold in Implementing Policies in a Flexible Manner, and Take Bigger Steps in Reform and Opening Up**

The key to boosting the economy rapidly lies in promoting reform and opening up in a still bolder way. This is the essence of Comrade Xiaoping's important remarks. Early this year, the provincial CPC committee and government made arrangements for promoting reform in the following five aspects, namely, deepening enterprise reform around the task of transforming operational mechanisms; deepening rural reform centering around the task of stabilizing and improving the system of contracted responsibility on a household basis with remuneration linked to output; speeding up the reform of the "four opennesses" in state-owned and cooperative commerce centered around the task of stimulating circulation; promoting experiments in comprehensive reforms centered around the task of enhancing power for local development; and improving macroeconomic regulation and control, and do a good job in the housing, medical, and social insurance systems, and carrying out structural reforms centered around the task of promoting social stability. Now the problem is: How must we make still bigger steps in reform and opening up? Generally, just as Comrade Xiaoping has stated, we must take the road of relaxing control over the lower levels instead of tightening them. In other words, we must continue to break the traditional system of overconcentration and rigid control, and implement a policy of reform and opening up. Our great achievements in reform and opening up over the past 10 years or so are mainly attributed to reform and flexible implementation of policies. Any locality that succeeds in implementing policies flexibly can achieve development. If we fail to arouse the enthusiasm of various quarters and merely rely on the hard work of a tiny number of people, we cannot achieve development even though we tire ourselves out. We therefore must further improve macroeconomic control and conscientiously do the following: Be bolder in opening up to the outside world and in relaxing control and delegating power to the lower levels

at home. As far as Jiangxi is concerned, we must now be flexible in the following five main aspects:

#### **1. Define a guiding principle for large-scale opening up, and further relax controls on the whole.**

Jiangxi is not located by the sea. It is not a border province either. Compared with coastal provinces, our hard environment for the expansion of opening up is not as good as theirs. In the course of gradually improving the hard environment, we must devote more efforts to the soft environment and implement relevant policies in a more flexible way.

First, we must establish as firmly as possible a pattern for opening up in all directions with emphasis on certain focal points. In light of the characteristics of our province's geographical position, we must continue to strengthen our links with the outside world to the north and south and advance to the west and east. First, we must do a good job in carrying out key development and construction projects in zones that are open to the outside world. We must concentrate our efforts on establishing economic development zones that have their own strong points and greater scientific and technical elements so that they can produce a stronger influence and serve as good examples. The central authorities have recently approved the decision on defining Jiujiang as an open city. Nanchang can also enjoy relevant policies for coastal open cities to attract foreign investment projects. We must firmly and fully make use of the policies given us by the central authorities to speed up the development of Jiujiang and Nanchang, and accelerate the development and opening up of the Nanchang-Jiujiang industrial corridor, and the Nanchang-Jiujiang-Jingdezhen triangular zone. In the meantime, we must continue to do a good job with experimental zones for reforms in the southern part of our province, the Nanchang hi-tech industrial development zone, the Jingdezhen export-oriented economy, the large market project in the eastern part of our province, the experimental project for the industrialization of agriculture in Yichun, the comprehensive reform projects in Zhangshu, and the opening up of the 18 counties on the border so that they can propel the development of areas along the border and highways and along rivers. In such a way, the whole province will be opened up in all directions, and favorable opportunities will come from all sides.

Second, we must firmly grasp the two links of "getting in and out" to expand our opening up. Our province is rich in natural resources, but we lack capital and technology. Our priority task is to try by every possible means to sell our products and bring in capital and technology. We must make efforts to develop our export-oriented economy and do a good job in foreign economic relations, trade, and investment. We must create as quickly as possible a situation in which specialized foreign trade companies, local import and export companies, medium-size and large enterprises, and foreign-invested enterprises develop simultaneously, and commodities,

technology, labor service, and tourism are all boosted. We must have more ports that are open to the outside world. During the first half of this year, we have opened the Nanchang and Jiujiang ports. In the second half of this year, we will make efforts to open Ganzhou as a port for land communication, and gradually open Jingdezhen, Yingtan, and Pingxiang. We must continue to do a good job regarding Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan compatriots, Overseas Chinese, and people from various circles in society. We must effect a greater breakthrough in importing foreign capital and developing foreign-invested enterprises. With regard to foreign investment projects, we must persist in signing joint contracts (lian he hui qian 5114 0678 2585 4687), and providing "comprehensive" services. We must simplify the procedure for examining and approving investment projects, and enhance our work efficiency. Priority matters must be promptly handled, and special cases must be dealt with in a special way.

Third, we must continuously intensify the degree of our opening up. Although our province was late in doing the work of opening up to the outside world, we must aim high, and continuously intensify the degree of opening up. With regard to the issue of opening up, provincial CPC committee and government have made the following decision: State-owned enterprises, collectives, and individuals are allowed to jointly participate in relevant projects to simultaneously promote primary, secondary, and tertiary industries, and lease or carry out large-scale land development. They are encouraged to carry out infrastructure projects and bonded undertaking on a trial basis. They are allowed to take the initiative in running open zones, or even "small special zones" by relying on their own efforts to raise funds, and administer them independently.

## 2. Expand administrative jurisdiction of counties and townships to further enliven grass-roots levels.

With economic development in counties and districts, they have increasingly urged expansion of power. We must adapt ourselves to such a situation by further delegating power in the course of carrying out well macroscopic regulation and control to truly enliven lower levels. Relevant units directly under provincial authorities must adopt an overall point of view, and grasp well the work of studying specific measures for delegating power. They must do their best to delegate all power which can be delegated. At present, we must particularly vest counties (cities) with power to establish or readjust their affiliated organs in accordance with plans covering the total number and establishment of organs. They must have the power to carry out management by different levels in accordance with cadres' administrative jurisdiction. They must have the power to recruit staff and workers in accordance with plan targets. They must have the power to examine and approve the cases of "turning people from the farming to

non-farming sectors" in accordance with relevant stipulations. They must have the power to readjust commodity prices in accordance with administrative jurisdiction. They must have the power to organize their own exports under the prerequisite of fulfilling foreign trade plans. In the meantime, it is necessary to further delegate power for examining and approving production items. Any items of less than 10 million yuan can be examined and approved by prefectural and city authorities, whereas items under five million yuan can be examined and approved by county (city) authorities. Counties (cities) in the Nanchang-Jiujiang industrial corridor have the power to examine and approve foreign-invested projects of less than \$5 million, whereas other counties (cities) have the power to examine and approve foreign-invested projects of less than \$3 million. While delegating power to counties (cities), we must continue to delegate power to townships and towns in accordance with relevant decisions of the Eighth Plenary Session. The purpose in delegating power to counties and townships is to invigorate their economy. Counties and townships themselves must pay attention to transforming their functions to serve enterprises and the masses well.

## 3. Make efforts to transform operational mechanisms to ensure further invigoration of enterprises.

Enterprises are cells of the economy. Only by invigorating enterprises can we truly invigorate the economy. For this reason, we must, on the one hand, do well in separating the functions of government from those of enterprises, and expanding decision-making powers of enterprises so that enterprises can transform their operational mechanisms and push themselves into markets. In the future, administrative departments of the government must mainly do well the work of "planning, coordinating, supervising, and providing services." They must not interfere in normal operational activities of enterprises. At present, it is necessary to stress that enterprises have the power to set up, cancel, or merge their internal organizations. They have personnel administrative power. They have the power to recruit, terminate contracts, and discharge workers in accordance with stipulations. They have the power to decide on the method of internal distribution. They have the power to set product prices except those covered by the state price plan. They have decision-making powers to arrange and retain funds, and they rely on their own efforts to raise funds for construction projects. They have the power to reject apportionment in terms of manpower, financial, and material resources. If conditions exist, enterprises must be vested with business operational power for imports and exports. On the other hand, enterprises must also pay attention to mobilizing and relying on the active participation of the broad masses of staff and workers, deepening their internal reform, speeding up the transformation of their operational mechanisms, and conscientiously marching to the market. All enterprises must carry out in various forms reforms in the three systems covering labor, personnel, and distribution. If conditions exist, the reforms can be

conducted in an all-round manner. If it is difficult for them to do so, they can first carry out the reforms separately. All enterprises must strengthen their internal administration and provide more in-service technical training to truly bring enterprises onto the track of relying on technical progress and enhancing labor quality. At present, there are 137 enterprises in our province which have started the work of transforming their operational mechanisms in seven forms in light of experiences gained by joint venture enterprises, township and town enterprises, the general contract system on input and output, contracts covering the period after separating profits from tax, the shareholding system, the one factory and two system pattern, and free operations based on "six decision-making powers." We hope that more enterprises will transform their operational mechanisms in more forms, so that they can truly become producers and operators which can run their operations independently, be responsible for their own loss and profits, promote their self-development, and impose self-restraint on themselves.

#### 4. Practice more flexible policies and further invigorate multiple economic sectors.

Owing to the limited investment in our province from various quarters, the expansion of total volume of economic activities depends, to a great extent, on the development of multiple economic sectors. At present, judging from the formation of industrial output value, the ratios between state, collective, and other sectors in our province are 6.3:2.8:0.9, while in Guangdong, they are 3.8:3.3:2.9. From here we can see that there is great potential in this respect. We should give a free hand to developing multiple economic sectors in various localities, and take this as a major move to open up new sources for economic growth. Under the precondition of further properly running state enterprises, large and medium state enterprises in particular, we should invigorate the economy in the following three aspects: 1) We will solidify and develop the principal sector through vigorously raising the proportion of collective industries in cities and towns, and strive to raise the ratio between state and collective industrial output value in cities and towns from the present 1:0.15 to the nationwide average of 1:0.25. 2) We will let individual and private economies develop even faster and with a greater proportion, further lower requirements for running a business, and allow surplus enterprise personnel and those who have retired or left their posts to be engaged in individually operated economic undertakings, further expand business scope, and allow them to do business on commodities except those which are sold and dealt with exclusively by specialized units. We will allow urban residents to do business in rural areas and, similarly, peasants in urban districts. Besides, we will allow large batch operations and long distance transport of goods, as well as multitrade operations in an appropriate way. 3) We will give positive guidance

to developing foreign-invested enterprises and various kinds of multi-ownership cooperative economies such as a factory under multiple ownership, an enterprise grafted with foreign capital, an enterprise group, a joint-stock enterprise, or an enterprise owned by social institutions. We must not leave them aside or restrict their development merely because we find it difficult to define their ownerships or classify what categories of business administration they belong to.

#### 5. Actively open up money markets and further enliven channels for financing.

The scope of funds has a direct impact on the total volume of economic development, and inadequacy of funds has become a "bottleneck" problem restricting the development. Under the condition that credit scope is controlled by the state, we must positively open up financial markets, change the condition of a single financing channel, and guide people into diverting deposits in various forms to alleviate the "bottleneck" problem. Recently, the Jiangxi branch of the Agricultural Bank of China issued for the first time 30 million yuan worth of Trust and Investment Benefit Securities, which were sold out in a day with a rush of buyers. This shows that we are now facing an excellent opportunity of developing financial markets. We should take advantage of this favorable situation to practice a shareholding system, starting with the operations of shares held by the enterprises' own staff and workers, by other enterprises, or in the form of joint-stocks; increase the issuance of securities and types of listed companies; relax controls on trading prices; encourage enterprises to issue bonds where conditions permit; and select large enterprise groups to run their own finance companies on a trial basis. We should also take proper control over non-banking institutions and invigorate their businesses while expanding transregional interbank financing; draw in foreign capital by every possible means; cultivate foreign exchange regulating markets; support trust and investment work; broaden the range of insurance businesses and funds utilization; and explore banking business in real estate. Banks should also carry out in-depth reform, transform credit management systems, improve loan structure, and raise economic results in credit operations.

#### IV. Do Two Types of Work Simultaneously and Attach Equal Importance to Both

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important remarks called for leading cadres at all levels to persist in doing two types of work simultaneously and attaching equal importance to both. These remarks not only embodied the important guiding ideology, leadership method, and leadership art, but also reflected the objective requirement of comprehensively implementing the party's basic line. In the final analysis, they were aimed at merging the two basic points of upholding the four cardinal principles and upholding reform and opening up in the practice of building socialism with Chinese

characteristics. For the present, we should stress the importance of stepping up the following three aspects in the ideological and political work:

**1. Step up the building of the party style and of an honest government, and provide guarantee and support to reform, opening up, and economic construction.**

At present, one of the major tasks concerning the party's ideological style building is to thoroughly study and implement the guidelines of the plenum of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Xiaoping's important remarks in line with the requirement of Comrade Jiang Zemin's recent important speech. Leading organs, and leading cadres in particular, at and above county levels should be encouraged to enhance their understanding through intensified study on the harmfulness of right tendencies but with stress on the "left" tendencies, consciously sum up experience in light of their ideological and work practice, and continue to discuss this subject after a period of time focusing on emancipating their minds. In the discussions, they are encouraged to develop an even more lively democratic atmosphere, review rather than criticize themselves, probe into new things rather than dispute over trifles, say what is on their minds rather than blame and censure one another, and give counsel and make bold suggestions rather than make perfunctory decisions and go everyone's own way regardless of the overall situation, so that they will be able to enhance their consciousness and firmness in carrying out the party's basic line.

The building of an honest government also aims at supporting and safeguarding reform and opening up, as well as promoting the development of productive forces. In the entire course of reform and opening up, we should fight against corruption, change the practice of stressing supervision afterwards to stressing prevention beforehand, tighten day-to-day education and supervision, solve problems before they pile up, and deal with cases before they grow from small into large ones and from minor into serious ones. The practice of purely acting on cases should be changed to the approach of offering help, making investigations, and providing protection. First, priority should be given to offering help to raise cadre quality, make clear the limits of policies, draw up rules and regulations, and institute systems to stop up loopholes. Second, we should make investigations and resolutely act against those who commit all kinds of outrages in defiance of the party and administrative discipline and the law. Instead of being indulgent toward their evils, we must impose severe penalties on them, and no one is allowed to bend the law for the benefit of relatives and friends. Third, we should support and protect comrades who are bold in reform, flexible measures that are conducive to invigorating the economy, normal operations of enterprises, and the legitimate rights and interests of producers and operators. In short, we must protect the initiative of reform. With regard to the irresponsible and unrealistic censure and blame, they must be clarified and, cases of false accusation, slander, false charge, and retaliation must be strictly checked and

acted upon. If wrong actions were taken against someone who persisted in reform, it must be rectified in good time so that justice can be upheld. While stepping up the building of an honest government, we should further intensify the building of professional ethics, correct malpractices in trades, foster a new style in various localities, continue to push forward and make perfect the practice of the "two opens and one supervision" [open working system, open results of the work done, and accepting mass supervision], hold fast to typical cases and set up pacesetters in various trades and professions, and launch activities to bring about superior quality in three aspects [chuang san you 0482 0005 0327] and in striving for perfection.

**2. Intensify ideological and political work and clear the way for reform and opening up.**

We must closely follow the current situation of reform and construction, expanding the breadth of ideological and political work and, at the same time, paying attention to penetrating into the depth of this work. At present, we will continue to extensively and thoroughly conduct propaganda and educational activities throughout the province on "going all out in unity, loving Jiangxi, building Jiangxi, and striving for moderate prosperity." We should let the broad masses know about the situation and tasks they are confronted with to arouse their sense of responsibility and urgency of the times to quicken the pace of heading for a relatively comfortable life; about the achievements we have made and advantages and potential we possess to stimulate the sense of pride for our beloved Jiangxi; about the difficulties and favorable conditions we face as well as the hopes and prospects before us to increase self-confidence in overcoming difficulties and marching on; and about the truth that our achievements are attributed to, our hopes are placed on, and the way out for the future lies in, reform and opening up to strengthen the determination to persevere in reform and opening up. In light of reality and aiming at the actual condition of various localities, we will also speed up the instruction that "it is everyone's responsibility to invigorate Jiangxi and make the people prosperous" and the activity that "the work to revitalize Jiangxi should start with every individual and his unit here," and make further efforts to foster in practice the spirit of enterprises and communities, a new look in campuses and organs, and an atmosphere of making progress and forging ahead.

**3. Tighten the overall control of public security and escort the advance of reform and construction.**

Economic development and social stability always complement each other in a dialectical unity. We must firmly establish the guiding ideology of maintaining stability to promote development and, in return, maintaining development to promote stability. In exercising overall control of social security, we must persist in combining crackdown with prevention, and effecting a temporary as well as permanent cure with more attention paid to the latter. In cracking down on serious criminal offenses and economic crimes, we must stress quick actions and heavy penalties according to the law, and be resolute and unwavering in eliminating all sorts of ugly tendencies.

Moreover, we must pay close attention to carrying out other measures of overall control, focusing on vigorously intensifying the building of spiritual civilization, and stepping up propaganda and education on popularizing the law in order to raise people's quality in ideology and morality, and enhance their concept of observing discipline and abiding by the law, thus preventing or reducing crimes as best we can. Political and legal departments at all levels should conscientiously study the new situation and problems cropping up in the course of reform and opening up. In daily law enforcement activities, we must deal blows at crimes and ban activities in violation of the law, but protect normal commodity circulation and legitimate economic activities. We should persistently handle cases according to the law and in a civilized way, strictly prohibit "interest-driven" acts in enforcing the law, and resolutely correct the issue of "fine in lieu of penalty." In the cases that involve legal persons or important scientific and technological personnel, we must take measures first to protect enterprise production and operations. To suit the needs of deepening reform and opening wider to the outside world, we should make further efforts to provide legal service and work out measures to facilitate external contacts and safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of investors and operators. We should also tighten enterprises' internal security work in real earnest to ensure the smooth transformation of the operational mechanism.

#### **V. Change Functions and Style, and Concentrate Efforts on Dealing With Concrete Matters**

An important element of Deng Xiaoping's remarks is his encouragement to deal with concrete matters in work. Now that the major principles and policies are fixed, the important issue is to take actual control of them and put them into practice in a vigorous way. To this end, party and government organs at all levels must make efforts to change functions and style in line with the relevant requirements of pushing forward political structural reform.

##### **First, it is necessary to change functions in a positive and appropriate manner.**

In his government work report, Comrade Li Peng put forward: This year, we will push forward government organ reform in a positive and appropriate manner in line with the principles of separating administration from enterprises, changing functions, simplifying administrative structure, and enhancing efficiency. Historical experience has told us that in order to solve the problem of ever-expanding organs with more hands than needed and a low working efficiency, the first thing to be done is to change functions. Without doing this, the organ reform will follow the same old road of having organs merged one moment and broken up the next and, similarly, having the staff reduced now and increased a while later. Only by conscientiously changing functions according to the principles of separating the functions of government and enterprises, simplifying administration, striving for unity and efficiency, and effecting overall

control and lower level relaxation can we incrementally fulfill the requirement of a "small government, large service."

To change functions, it is imperative that we simplify administrative structure and divert personnel to find jobs in other units. At present, experiments such as the "three-thirds system" [san san zhi 0005 0005 0455], "appointment system," and "self-supporting system" on organ personnel system reform are being conducted in some localities of our province. All these systems should be allowed to make explorations. In the future, we will also take a positive attitude toward diverting organ personnel to work elsewhere in a more flexible way. On the one hand, we will encourage and support middle-aged healthy comrades with special knowledge to go to the first production line, and particularly select some fine young cadres to work in townships and villages; encourage the teachers, medical workers, and other technological personnel who entered government organs in recent years to return to their original specialized technical posts; and encourage the university and technical secondary school graduates who were recently assigned jobs in organs to go to work in basic-level units, enterprises, or institutions. On the other hand, we will also allow organ cadres except those in some specified departments to leave their institutions to found or lead in establishing economic entities in society, or to have their salaries suspended while retaining posts or retain both their salaries and posts temporarily while running enterprises through contracting or leasing in accordance with regulations. In the future, anyone who wants to work in an enterprise or institution may go through transfer procedures, and anyone who wants to work in a collective or private enterprise may enter his name in the personnel exchange center.

To change functions and open job outlets for personnel, it is imperative to make breakthroughs in setting up more entities. This issue, for which we should give support and encouragement, is being looked at in quite a few localities throughout the province. Judging from current progress, we may perhaps make the following points clear: 1) We should encourage special economic and technological departments to run economic entities, which can be developed on by existing units subordinate to them, or can be new entities to be founded by some of the managerial personnel diverted from the original entities. Besides, we may make experiments on transforming the entire trade into an economic entity of a group nature. 2) Institutions may set up entities, practicing enterprise administration with separated accounts, and augmenting institutions' actual strength with the methods of enterprises. 3) The business units abroad should make positive use of favorable conditions to set up entities to give full play to their role in importing capital, technology, qualified personnel, and information. 4) Except for some specific departments, party and government organs may, under the condition of having a separated account, establish or participate in entities for agricultural development and production

service. It is all the more necessary for logistics and service units of organs to speed up the process of becoming entities, but they are not allowed to take advantage of goods circulation to resell them at a profit.

**Second, it is necessary to make efforts to improve the style of organs.**

Over the past few years, marked improvement has been made in the style of party and government organs at different levels. The main trend is sound. However, along with the faster progress of reform and opening up, requirements for improving organ style are increasingly greater. To sum up, there are at present the following main manifestations in some localities and units that do not suit the needs of the situation: Handling affairs in a rigid and mechanical way, copying indiscriminately when there are regulations to go by, but delaying in acting when there is no regulation to be followed; placing sole emphasis on departmental interests; providing services overtly, but placing obstacles covertly; exercising overlapping management, resulting in a state of chaos; working on trivial details and conducting tedious formalities; seeking personal gain through one's job, at the convenience of one's official duties, or by abuse of power; telling lies, performing false deeds, and working without actual results; abundant practicing of formalism characterized by excessive documents, meetings, routine activities, inspections, and appraisals through comparison, and so on. With a view to resolving these problems, the provincial party committee and government made a special deployment in April. On this basis, we have still to fulfill the following tasks:

First, all trades and professions should really do their work focusing on the central task of economic construction. Many problems such as failing to carry out work, arguing back and forth over trifles, and disrupting economic operations are in fact attributed to the vague awareness of the above-mentioned "central task" and the weak concept of serving economic construction. All departments and units must jump out of their "small domains," walk side by side, and sit together to jointly discuss development focusing on the central task of economic construction. Economic departments should coordinate with one other and struggle with concerted efforts. Other departments and units should consciously place themselves in correct positions and increase awareness of the "central task" so as to better serve economic construction.

Second, upper-level organs should earnestly provide services to grass-roots units and enterprises, which are the forward positions of economic construction. While delegating power to grass-roots units and enterprises, upper-level organs should set up the idea of grass-roots units and enterprises being of paramount importance, hence they must be served conscientiously. Work that has been delayed must be carried out promptly, and the practice of waiting for people to come to organs must be changed to on-site handling of affairs. We must also change the style from being requested to do

things to taking the initiative in doing them, and from having the authority to do things to having the responsibility to do them. The practice of "lower-level units making appraisals of higher-level units" has been conducted in some counties and prefectures, allowing grass-roots units and enterprises to evaluate how much work the upper levels have done for them. This is really an effective method by which to cure the chronic and stubborn ills of organs, which merits our earnest summation and dissemination.

Third, attention should be paid to dealing with concrete matters in our work at various levels. First, the leading groups must deal with concrete matters when they make policy decisions, persist in having everything proceed from reality, and institute a system under which only concrete and substantive issues are discussed at meetings in an atmosphere in which everyone speaks the truth and thinks of practical matters so that policy decisions will tally with reality. Meanwhile, various functional departments must also adopt a realistic attitude in performing their duties. Particularly the various working links in between have a significant bearing on implementation, so they must further improve their style and do more practical things for the grass-roots units and enterprises, who, on their part, must also concentrate their efforts on fulfilling their tasks and dealing with concrete rather than abstract matters so that every item of work will be accomplished with actual results.

Fourth, attention should be paid to judging and using cadres in their practical work. To solve the problem of cadre work style, an important measure is to persist in applying the correct criteria of using cadres and form an organizational mechanism to enable cadres to attend to concrete matters. In the future work of appraising and using cadres, we must attach importance to their spirit of doing solid work and their actual work achievements under the precondition of persevering in the four modernizations and the criterion of having both ability and political integrity. Those who are fair and upright, work hard with outstanding achievements, and do not pursue undeserved reputations should be encouraged, protected, selected into leading groups, and used boldly; and those who just sit and make empty talk, fear hardships, crave false honor, do not get right on the job but indulge in finding fault with others, lack the spirit of doing solid work, and fail to open up a new situation should be educated and handled with necessary measures organizationally. As the leading groups in various counties, cities, and prefectures will be reelected one after another between this winter and next spring, we hope that everyone will take a positive attitude toward this reelection work, which will be conducted in the principle of "maintaining stability and making readjustments with stress on the former." Instead of sitting and waiting for the reelection, we must pay special attention to taking firm control of the current tasks and strive to fulfilling them effectively.

Comrades! With Comrade Xiaoping's important remarks as a symbol, China's reform and opening up

have ushered in a new development stage. It is the entire party's current strategic task to seize the favorable opportune moment, speed up reform and opening, and strive to scale new heights for the economy in a still better and faster way. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin at the core, we must stand at the forefront of reform and opening, plunge ourselves into economic construction with heart and soul, and greet the victorious convening of the 14th CPC National Congress with excellent achievements!

### Southwest Region

#### Sichuan Scores 'Remarkable Results' Against 6 Vices

HK1409104592 Beijing *RENMIN RIBAO* in Chinese  
6 Sep 92 p 3

[Report by Wang Yunzhong (3769 6663 1813), Yang Keqin (2799 0344 0530), and Hu Fashou (5170 4099 1108): "Sichuan Achieves Remarkable Results in Wiping Out the 'Six Vices'"]

[Text] In the past two months, Sichuan Province's public security organs at various levels have been concentrating on eliminating the "six vices" and have achieved remarkable results. So far, 2,358 cases of prostitution and prostitute-visiting have been discovered, involving 4,176 people; 37 prostitution gangs have been ferreted out and 116 people who forced or lured women into prostitution or housed prostitutes have been prosecuted; and 4,582 "six-vice" cases—such as producing, trafficking, or spreading pornography and gambling—have been ferreted out, involving 14,740 people.

#### Sichuan Secretary Speaks on Shanghai's Experience

HK2208031792 Chengdu *Sichuan People's Radio Network* in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Summary From Poor Reception] While visiting Shanghai recently, provincial party committee Secretary Yang Rudai spoke to staff of the provincial government office in Shanghai about the importance of learning from Shanghai's experience in economic development.

**Editorial Urges Revoking General Mobilization Law**

*OW0709145392 Taipei CNA in English  
1357 GMT 7 Sep 92*

[Editorial from the 7 September EXPRESS NEWS: "A General Mobilization Law"]

[Text] Taipei, Sept. 7 (CNA)—A General Mobilization Law was adopted in 1942, while the Republic was fighting a long war of resistance against Japan. The wartime law was necessary for an all-out effort to ensure the survival of the country.

That law survived the end of the Second World War and was given a new lease on life in 1947, when the government of the Republic of China proclaimed a period of general mobilization for the suppression of communist rebellion. The law is still in force on Taiwan today.

But Premier Hao Po-ts'un, convinced that the law is unnecessary, has decided to recommend that it be repealed. He is ready to ask the Legislative Yuan to act on his recommendation in its next session.

We cannot but wonder why the General Mobilization Law was not abolished long ago.

There is no doubt that the law is unconstitutional, although the Council of Grand Justices has never been convoked to pass a judgement on it. As a matter of fact, it had been passed long before the Republic of China adopted its Constitution.

The saving grace is that the law, though in force, has rarely been invoked. Had it been invoked often, a subsequent constitutional controversy would have divided the country.

Perhaps because it has seldom been invoked, the wartime law has long remained a legal blind spot. Few of us know that there is such a law at all.

Mr. Hao's decision was a very wise one. But it came a little too late. The 50-year old law should have been revoked when President Li Teng-hui terminated the period of general mobilization for the suppression of communist rebellion on May 1 last year.

We hope the Legislative Yuan, now in recess, will repeal the General Mobilization Law when it meets next month. There should be no delay. Any law that is part of the vestige of war cannot be revoked too fast.

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